THE EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANIZING MONUMENTS OF IMPERIAL ROME

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

M. J. VERMASEREN

TOME VINGTIÈME

ANNE ROULLET

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LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
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WITH 230 PLATES AND 5 FOLDING PLANS

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To John Richard Harris

with gratitude and affection

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PREFACE

This book is dedicated to Prof. John Richard Harris, of Copenhagen University, whose great knowledge of Aegyptiaca and infinite patience guided me step by step throughout this work. I also thank Prof. Jean Leclant, of Paris University, who revised my manuscript and suggested many improvements. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Prof. Dr M. J. Vermaseren, of Utrecht University, who never tired of advising and helping me, and spent precious time on the preparation of the publication of this book. Mrs M. E. C. Vermaseren and Miss M. B. de Boer have also given me help and moral support.

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Last but not least, I thank very specially my husband, David Curry, who read and corrected the English text of this book so often that he must know it by heart.

Paris 6th September 1970

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PERIODICALS

Ann. Inst.	*Annali dell'Instituto di correspondenza archeologica,* Rome, 1829 –
Bull. Com.	*Bulletino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma,* Rome, 1872 –
Bull. Inst.	*Bulletino dell Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica,* Rome, 1829 –
Jahrb. d. Inst.	*Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts,* Berlin, 1887 –
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London, 1914 –
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies,* London, 1911 –
MdI	*Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung,* Rome, 1886 –
NSc	*Notizie degli scavi di antichità communicate alla Reale Accademia dei Lincei,* Rome, 1876 –
Oud. Med.	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden,* Nieuwe reeks, Leiden, 1920 –
Rend. Atti. Pont. Accad. rom.	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Rendiconti,* Rome, 1923 –
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde,* Leipzig, 1863 –

BOOKS

- Aldrovandi, *Statue*
  - Ulysse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono,* (1562).
- Amelung, *Vat. Mus.*
  - Walter Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums,* (1903-1956).
- Boissard, *Top.*
  - Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographia,* (1597).
- Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*
  - Sergio Bosticco, *Musei Capitolini. I monumenti egizi ed egittizzanti,* (cataloghi dei musei comunali di Roma, 3) (1952).
- Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*
  - Bernard V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100,* (Brooklyn Museum, 18. 10. 1960 to 9. 1. 1961), (1960).
- Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*
  - Giuseppe Botti and Pietro Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo gregoriano egizio* (Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte, 9), (1951).
- Clarac, *Musée*
  - Comte Frédéric de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne,* (1826-1841).

Cod. top.
Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Codice topografico. Fonti per la storia d'Italia,* (1940-1953).
Documenti inediti
Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia. Publicati per cura del Ministerio della publica istruzione, (1878-1879).
Fea, *Miscell.*
Carlo Fea, *Miscellanea filologica, critica et antiquaria,* (1790).
Furtwängler, *Glypt. München*
Adolf Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I zu München,* (1903).
Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*
Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du musée du Louvre et du musée de Versailles, école française,* V, (1910) *Dupérac,* pp. 60-67.
Gusman, *Tibur*
Pierre Gusman, *La villa impériale de Tibur,* (1904).
Helbig, *Führer durch.. in Rom.*
Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (1963-1966).
Hülsen, *G. da Sangallo*
Christian Hülsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo,* (1910).
Hülsen, *Antikengärten*
Christian Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI Jahrhunderts,* (1917).
Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*
Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Maerten van Heemskerck* (1913-1916).
Iversen, *Myth*
Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition,* (1961).
Iversen, *Obelisks*
Erik Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile, I. The Obelisks of Rome,* (1968).
Kienitz,
Friedrich Karl Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Aegyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende,* (1953).
Kircher, *Ob. Pamph.*
Athanasius Kircher, *Athanasii Kircheri .. Obeliscus Pamphilius hoc est, interpretatio nova et hucusque intentata obelisci hieroglyphici ..* (1650).
Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*
Athanasius Kircher, *Athanasii Kircheri .. Oedipus aegyptiacus hoc est universalis hieroglyphicae veterum doctrinae temporum injuria abolitae instauratio ..* 3 vol. (1652-1654).
Kircher, *Ob. aeg.*
Athanasius Kircher, *Obelisci aegyptiaci nuper inter Isaei Romani rudera effossi interpretatio hieroglyphica Athanasii Kircheri,* (1666).
Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*
Georges Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie, Serapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Egypte,* (1884).
Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*
Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome: a Companion Book for Students and Travellers ..* (1897).
Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*
Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità,* (1902-1913).

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*
Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, (1963).
Marucchi, *M.E.V.*
Orazio Marucchi, *Il Museo egizio vaticano descritto ed illustrato*, (1899).
Maspero, *Hist. ancienne*
Sir Gaston Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, (1904).
Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*
Friedrich Matz and Friedrich von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rome mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen* . . (1881-1882).
Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*
A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, (1882).
Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*
Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, (1719-1724).
Nash, *Pict. Dict.*
Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, (1961-1962).
D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*
Cesare d'Onofrio, *Gli obelischi di Roma*, (1965).
Paribeni, *Mus. Naz. Romano*
Roberto Paribeni, *Le terme di Diocleziano e il Museo nazionale romano*, (1922).
Penna, *Viaggio*
A. Penna, *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana*, (1831-1836).
Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*
Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. (1927-1951), 7 vols.
Reinach, *Répertoire*
Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, (1897).
Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*
Lorenzo Roccheggiani, *Raccolta di cento tavole rappresentanti i costumi religiosi* . . *degli antichi Egiziani* . . (1804).
Roscher, *Lexikon*
Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon des griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, (1884-1937).
Ruesh, *Guida* . . *Napoli*
Arnold Ruesh, *Guida illustrata del Museo nazionale di Napoli*, (1911).
Squarciapino, *Ostia*
Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, (Etudes préliminaires aux religons orientales dans l'Empire romain, III), (1962).
Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Cap.*
H. Stuart-Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, (1912).
Stuart-Jones, *Palaz. Conserv.*
H. Stuart-Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, (1926).
Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*
Vincent Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, (1964).
Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, B.M.*
Cornelius C. Vermeule, "The Dal-Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum", in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, L, 5, (1960).
Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, Windsor*
Cornelius C. Vermeule, "The Dal-Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle", in *Transactions of*

the American Philosophical Society, LVI, 2, (1966).

Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*
Johan Georg Herwart von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus hieroglyphicorum*, (s. d.).

Zoega, *Ob.*
Georg Zoega, *De origine et usu obeliscorum*, (1797).

MANUSCRIPTS

Cod. Urs.
Codex Ursinianus, Rome, Vatican, Vat. Lat. 3439.

Cod. Pighianus, Berlin
Codex Pighianus, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek d. Stiftung Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Lat. fol. 61.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the Alexandrian cults in the Roman Empire has been emphasized by many scholars, and a quick glance at any of the catalogues of the Roman museums is enough to confirm the significance of archaeological documents that have survived from various Roman sites dedicated to the Egyptian gods. But no attempt has been made to bring together systematically the Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of Imperial Rome.

I have tried to fill this gap, and to present a catalogue raisonné of these monuments. The Egyptian antiquities listed here were taken to Europe mainly for religious purpoes. Then, copied and plagiarized, they remained famous, but soon ceased to be understood. Most of them fell into oblivion in the Middle Ages, but were rediscovered in the Renaissance. They were excavated with other Roman antiquities and exhibited with them in public or private collections.

To select the various items of this catalogue, I have taken into consideration several elements:

— the *site of discovery* of an object, if this can be traced;

— if the site of origin could not be identified, I have traced the *date at which it was noticed in Rome.* I have assumed that, until the beginning of the 17th century, any Egyptian monument located in Rome would have been found in Rome or its immediate neighbourhood. After the early 17th century, Egyptian antiquities began to be put alongside direct contemporary imports from Egypt in collections. This makes it unsafe to take it for granted that, by this date, an Egyptian piece was necessarily found in the place where it is mentioned;

— the *style*: though it is risky to suppose that a Roman Egyptianizing copy or creation, of which the actual origin is unknown, must come from Rome, this, in fact, is most likely. I have therefore included this category of monument in this catalogue.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

The formation and development of the cults of Isis and Serapis in Egypt is far too complex a question to be dealt with here. I will confine myself to a general outline of the migration of these cults from Egypt, and their establishment in the area of Rome during the Empire.

The cults came to Rome via the Greek settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the 4th century B.C., there was already an Isiac sanctuary in the Piraeus for the Egyptian merchants of the harbour. This was the first sign of a phenomenon which grew from the third until the first century B.C. During this period, the Isiac cults practised by the cosmopolitan society of Greek trade centres such as Alexandria, Delos and Puteoli, and by mercenaries once stationed in Egypt, spread in the Mediterranean world along the sea-trade routes.

Along the coasts of Greece, Macedon, and Asia Minor, shrines to the Alexandrian gods were built. The centre of these cults, after Alexandria, was the island of Delos, the pivot of the trade routes of the Eastern Mediterranean. Three successive Serapeums were erected there. From the 2nd century B.C. until the sack of Delos in 88 B.C., there was uninterrupted contact between this island and Puteoli (Pozzuoli), the second international Mediterranean port after Delos. Through these contacts, the Alexandrian cults emigrated to Puteoli (where, in 105 B.C., there was a temple to the Alexandrian divinities) and, more widely in Campania, at Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae and Naples.

By the 2nd century B.C., there were Roman worshippers of Isis in Delos. In Rome itself[1], during the first half of the 1st century B.C., Isiac schrines were built, though exotic cults were officially proscribed and the Egyptian religion was considered a "turpis superstitio". There are, nevertheless, signs of Isiac infiltration on contemporary coins bearing Egyptian emblems[1]. In 65 B.C. an altar dedicated to Isis on the Capitol was destroyed by order of the Senate. The official ban was useless: five Isiac sanctuaries were pulled down within seventeen years and all were rebuilt.

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[1] Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 19-25; E. Caetani-Lovatelli, in *Nuova antologia*, (1890), IV, (series 3), vol. XXVIII, pp. 37-51.

During the second half of the century, the official attitude changed under the Triumvirs[2] who had an Iseum dedicated in 43 B.C. Dio Cassius even reports that Antony, to please Cleopatra "posed with her for portrait paintings and statues, he representing Osiris or Dionysus, and she Selene or Isis"[3]. Under Augustus (29 B.C.-A.D. 14), in spite of strong official opposition, Egyptian cults became highly fashionable among all classes of society[4]. After a period of repression under Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), due to a scandal in a temple of Isis, the Isiac religion settled permanently in Rome with the approval and participation of most of the Emperors.

Caligula (37-41)[5] rebuilt the Iseum Campense; the cartouche of Claudius (41-54) was inlaid on the Mensa Isiaca; Nero (54-68) included Isiac festivals in the Roman calendar; Vespasian (69-79) visited the Serapeum of Alexandria; Titus (79-81) visited that of Memphis and officiated at the burial or installation of an Apis[6] and, back from the Judaean war, spent the night before his triumph in the Iseum Campense. Domitian (81-96), who owed his life to the priests of Isis, rebuilt the Iseum Campense after the fire of 80[7]. The Iseum of Beneventum[8], and the temple of Praeneste[9] were probably built in his reign.

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[1] A. Alföldi, in *Schweizer Münzblätter*, V, (1954), pp. 25-31; Dio Cassius, XL, 47, (3-4), (transl. E. Cary, (1954), III, pp. 477-479).

[2] Dio Cassius, XLVII. 15, (4), (transl. E. Cary, (1954), V, p. 147).

[3] Dio Cassius, L, 5, (3), (transl. E. Cary, (1954), V, p. 445).

[4] P. Lambrechts, in *Meded. v.d.k. Vlaamse Academie Kl. der Letteren*, XVIII, (1956), 2, 34p.

[5] E. Köberlein, *Caligula und die ägyptischen Kulte*, (1962).

[6] A. Hermann, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, III, (1960) pp. 35-41.

[7] See below, p. 23 f.

[8] On the Iseum of Beneventum (Benevento), see: *NSc*, (1904), p. 107 f.; H. W. Müller, in *Akten d. XXIV Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses*, Munich, (1957), pp. 64-67 and pl.; idem, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 16), (1969). The Iseum of Beneventum was built in A.D. 88-89. A complete catalogue of its monuments, with bibliography, is given in Müller's latest publication (1969).

[9] On Praeneste (Palestrina), see: O. Marucchi, *Guida archeologica dell'antica Preneste*, (1885). The great temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste possessed a statue of Isis Fortuna. An Egyptianizing altar has been found on the

For his villa on the Baia d'Argento, on Monte Circeo near Torre Paola, Domitian had copies of Egyptian statues executed, probably for his gardens. Domitian also stressed his links with Egypt by having his portrait as a pharaoh exhibited in at least one of the great Italian sanctuaries to the Alexandrian gods, the Iseum of Beneventum[1].

Hadrian (117-138), curious about everything and particularly about Oriental religions, was fascinated by Egyptian cults. He visited Egypt twice, in 117 and in 129-139; meanwhile, he began to plan the Egyptian setting for his villa at Tivoli, in the famous Canopus. In 127 he dedicated the Serapeum of Ostia[2].

On a second trip to Egypt, in 129-130, Hadrian's favourite, Antinous, drowned in the Nile. The Emperor had him deified on the spot, founded a new city in his memory, and promoted the cult of the dead youth throughout the Empire[3]. At Rome, an obelisk with hieroglyphic dedication was erected on Antinous' cenotaph, and there is some evidence that Antinous was worshipped inside the precinct of the Iseum Campense[4], or nearby[5]. In following years, the Canopus of Tivoli was completed.

Apuleius' *Golden Ass* belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161) who also went to Egypt. Under Marcus Aurelius (161-180), a temple to the Egyptian Hermes was built in Rome[6]. Commodus

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site (Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. LXVI, no. 2). Under Trajan, presumably in connection with this cult, a certain T. Sextius Africanus erected two obelisks at the entrance of the old lower temple of Fortuna, perhaps inspired by the example of the obelisks set in front of a small Hellenistic temple shown on the mosaic inside the sanctuary. One of the obelisks is now in Munich, Glyptothek, (cat. Wolters) no. 22; the other is broken into several pieces: two fragments are in Naples, in the Museo Nazionale, no. 2317; two other fragments are still in Palestrina in the "erario" of the "Sala absidata" of the lower temple.

[1] Museo del Sannio, nos. 260 and 263. See also M. Wegner, *Das römische Herrscherbild: die Flavier*, (1966), pp. 97-98.

[2] See below pp. 38-39.

[3] J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, (1955), pp. 242-257.

[4] *C.I.G.*, 6007. See also *Cod. Pighianus*, Berlin, fol. 26 v.; R. Enking, *Der Apis-Altar Johann Melchior Dinglingers* (Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien, 11), (1939), p. 15.

[5] E. Platner, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, III, 3, pp. 119-120, supposes that the temple Bonus Eventus near the Baths of Agrippa was dedicated to the cult of Antinous, in relation with the cult celebrated in the neighbouring Iseum and Serapeum. Cf. Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, p. 225.

[6] W. Weber, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, VII, (1910), pp. 3-10, pl. I (2-3).

(180-192) possesed a zeal which surpassed that of all his predecessors[1]. He could be seen, with his skull shaved according to the Isiac rites, participating in the procession of Isis, and knocking the head of the priest in front of him with the statue of Anubis he was carrying to "mortify" the flesh. Commodus was probably responsible for a new iconographic type of Serapis, with pendent forelocks. In the last years of his reign, Commodus had himself represented in a gold statue between a bull and a cow:

> "This statue can only be understood as Commodus-Horus between Osiris-Apis and the Cow of Isis, having its natural place with the many manifestations of Commodus' Egyptian religiosity."[2]

Septimius Severus (193-211) took the Serapis forelocks as his own (having been converted in Egypt) and emphasized his kinship with this god[3]. From his reign onwards, the Alexandrian cults progressed as a sort of dynastic cult of the Severi. Caracalla (211-217) stayed in the Serapeum of Alexandria before the Parthian war, introduced Isis and Serapis worship within the precinct of the Roman walls, erected the temple of Serapis on the Quirinal and perhaps a sanctuary to Isis and Serapis on the Caelius[4]. Statues such as the two Egyptian standing statues[5], probably portraits of Caracalla wearing the nemes head-dress are characteristic of Caracalla's attachment to Egypt and its gods. Heads of Isis and Serapis were sculpted on the capitals of the columns of Caracalla's baths[6].

Severus Alexander (222-235) restored the Iseum Campense.

Thus Egyptian cults, widespread in Rome, and officially supported during the Empire by the Flavians and the Antonines, reached the climax of their popularity in the first half of the 3rd century A.D. with the Severi. At the same time, still from Mediterranean ports, from Rome, through Roman soldiers previously stationed in Egypt, they spread throughout the Empire, following the usual commercial and military routes.

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[1] J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire,* (1955), pp. 377-381, 386-388.

[2] H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture,* (1947), pp. 70-72.

[3] Ibidem, pp. 75-86; idem, in *Bericht VI Kongress Archaeol.,* (Berlin, 1939), pp. 495-496.

[4] Idem, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture,* (1947), p. 82.

[5] One was found at Tor Vergata in Popolo and is now in Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 129270: the Emperor is shown nude like a classical hero, apart from a cloak thrown over his shoulders; he wears the nemes head-dress with a row of curls protruding at the front. The other statue belonged to the Iseum of Beneventum and is now in Benevento, Museo del Sannio, no. 264.

[6] The columns are now in Sant'Agnese in Rome. See: H. Jordan-Ch. Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Roms im Altertum,* (1871-1907), I, 3, p. 191, no. 24, p. 195, no. 33.

An Egyptian setting was used at the beginning of the 4th century by Diocletian (284-305) at his villa at Split[1].

In the Roman Empire, worshippers of Isis resisted Christianity as late as the end of the 4th century, at which time one could still see the old procession of the *navigium Isidis* go through Roman streets[2].

It would be wrong to believe that the physical ruin of Rome dates from the adoption of militant Christianity by the Byzantine emperors in the 4th century and was finally sealed by Alaric's sack of Rome in 410. In fact, during the whole 4th century until 394, Rome retained the appearance and beliefs of her imperial past. Ammianus relates the visit of the emperor Constantius who was struck by the beauty of the monuments of Rome[3]. And until the end of the 4th century, the pagan deities—Isis and the Alexandrian gods among them—were promoted by the old Roman aristocracy to oppose Christianity[4]. It is at this time that Claudian mentions the innumerable monuments of Rome:

> "...the palace (on the Palatine), raising its head above the forum that lies at its feet, sees around it so many temples and is surrounded by so many protecting deities. See below the Thunderer's temple the Giants suspended from the Tarpeian rock,

---

[1] E. Hebrard-J. Zeiller, *Le palais de Dioclétien*, (1912). Several sphinxes have been found on the site, with a fragment of an Egyptian statue. It seems that the sphinxes were set in pairs near the entrance of Diocletian's Mausoleum. See: G. Jéquier, *Les monuments égyptiens de Spalato*, (1912); V. Rismondo, in *Knjievni Jodran*, year II, XXIV, (Split, 1953); B. Saria, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XVI, 2, (1953), p. 392; J. Leclant, in *Orientalia*, XXIV, (1955), p. 311 and note 5; ibidem, XXX, (1964), p. 395, no. 15.

[2] A. Alföldi, *A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the 4th century*, (1937); J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, (1955), pp. 377-381.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 10, (13-17), (transl. J. C. Rolfe, (1963), pp. 249-253).

[4] Cf. A. Momigliano, *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, (1963), ch. VIII.

> behold the sculptured doors, the cloud-capped statues, the sky-towering temples, the brazen prows of many a vessel welded on to lofty columns, the temples built on massy crags where the hand of man has added to the work of nature, the countless triumphal arches glittering with spoils. The eyes are dazed by the blaze of metal, and blink outwearied by the surrounding gold."[1]

In 410, Alaric's troops seem to have paid more attention to precious objects easy to carry away than to mere destruction —though the imperial casino in the Gardens of Sallust, with its Egyptianizing setting, was fired when the Barbarians entered the city through the Porta Salaria[2].

The real destroyers of the city throughout the ages have been the citizens themselves. Cassiodorus (*Var.*, VII, 13) complained in 500 A.D. about the ravages of the lime-burners, stone-cutters and masons using the abandoned monuments as a source of materials. Nevertheless, this progressive despoliation of the Roman city was slow enough for early medieval travellers to be able to see the Imperial monuments more or less intact. The Iseum Campense was presumably not ruined before 1084, when the Normans and Saracens invaded the city and stormed the Campus Martius.

It is possible to establish a list of the Egyptian antiquities which are known for certain to have been at some time visible in and outside Rome in the Middle Ages. They were mainly obelisks, the two Roman pyramids, a baboon, and some lions and sphinxes[3]. There were certainly more Egyptian pieces lying among the ruins of Rome, but as there is no specific mention of them in records, and as their history is too obscure for reconstruction, they have not been mentioned here.

Travellers to Rome in the Middle Ages left few reports of monuments in the city. Guide-books for pilgrims to Rome might refer incidentally to an obelisk or a pyramid if it stood on the way from one religious monument to another, as in the manuscript of the Anonymus Einsiedelnsis[4]. In the 10th century, nevertheless, interest in the city developed. At that time, the *Graphia Aurea Urbis*

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[1] Claudian, *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, 42-45, (transl. M. Platnauer, (1956), II, pp. 76-79).

[2] A. Pignaniol, *Le sac de Rome*, 1964.

[3] See below, Appendix I, p. 149.

[4] *Cod. Top.*, II, p. 155.

Romae and the *Mirabilia*[1] were written, which give an account of the monuments of Rome and their legends. In the 11th century version of the *Mirabilia*, the belief that pyramids and obelisks were tombs of classical heroes appears. The 12th century displayed an increasing interest in antiquities and the *Mirabilia* of the time emphatically stress the pagan monuments of the city. This was the result of both political and cultural trends, leading to a pre-Renaissance, a "Renovatio Romae". The Marcus-Aurelius column was restored, statues were moved around, tombs were excavated[2]. There is an echo of this attitude in the *Ordo Romanus* of Benedict[3], and in the report of Magister Gregorius' travel in Rome[4].

Sometime between the 12th and 13th centuries, this Magister Gregorius lumped together several obelisks and pyramids under the general heading of "pyramis", and mentioned the two Nectanebo I lions in front of the Pantheon.

The most remarkable illustration of this pre-Renaissance survives in the works of the Cosmati, a group of marble-cutters established at Rome in the 13th century, and working on the materials and models provided by the ruins of the ancient city[5]. Most of the churches, built or restored in and around Rome during this time, were decorated by the Cosmati. The Egyptian sphinxes and lions extant in Rome were used by these sculptors as models for some of the elements of monuments upon which they worked[6]. From the copies, one can define the originals. The sphinxes used as models were some of the many late Egyptian ones brought to Rome or copied during the Roman Empire. Most of them had the enigmatic smile characteristic of that period. The Cosmati made this into a broad smile and introduced wrinkles of laughter around the eyes. Such laughing sphinxes are found at the entrance of S. Antonio Abbate in Rome[1], in the cloisters of S. Giovanni in Laterano[2] (fig. 1) on the left of a choir screen at Cività Castellana[3] (fig. 2), and on the right hand side of the door of the sacristy of the cathedral of Ferentino[4] (fig. 3). A serious bearded sphinx balances its laughing companion at S. Giovanni in Laterano[5] (fig. 4). Together they form the first example of a pair of male and female Egyptianizing sphinxes, a theme definitely un-Egyptian, but which was to develop steadily from the Renaissance onwards. Two other sphinxes with serious expressions support the Paschal candelabrum of the cathedral at Anagni[6] (fig. 5). The Viterbo sphinx is a peculiar composition of the late 13th century, with a non-Egyptian hair-style but an Egyptian body, devoid of any Sassanid wings. Its head is turned sideways[7]. An inscription runs along its base, where hieroglyphs would usually be (fig. 6). There are two headless sphinxes in the cloister of S. Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome[8].

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[1] L. Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus*, (1871).

[2] H. Wentzel, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, IX, (1955), pp. 29-30.

[3] J. Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, (1687), II, p. 143, nos. 50-51; L. Urlichs, op. cit., p. 79 f.; H. Jordan-Ch. Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Roms in Altertum*, (1878), II, p. 664 f.

[4] G. Mc N. Rushforth, in *JRS*, IX, (1919), pp. 14-58; Magister Gregorius, *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Rome*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, (1970).

[5] A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, (1904), p. 796 f., figs. 714-715; P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il medioevo*, (1927), p. 826 f.; F. Hermanin, *L'arte in Roma dell secolo VIII al XIV*, (1945), p. 59 f.; E. Hutton, *The Cosmati*, (1950), see especially pls. 7b, 27, 43b, 47.

[6] H. G. Evers, in *ZÄS*, LXVII, (1931), pp. 31-33, and pl. III, figs. 1, 2, 3; K. Noehles, in *Festschrift Werner Hager*, (1966), pp. 17-38, fig. 9-42; S. Morenz, in *Acta Tropica*, XXI, 4, (1963), pp. 324-342, especially p. 336.

At this time, the Nectanebo I lions (nos. 273-274)[9] stood in front of the Pantheon, where Magister Gregorius had seen them in the 12th century. A close copy of this type of lion was executed by one of the Cosmati for a church near the old Iseum Campense and the Pantheon, SS. Apostoli. Under the porch, on the right hand side, there lies a lion, very damaged (figs. 7 and 8): unmistakable details, nevertheless, point to an affiliation with the Pantheon models. The lion lies on its side, and the head, with its characteristic round "beard", is at right angles to the axis of the body; the forepaws are crossed; the tail runs along the base and, on the space left free on this base, in place of the hieroglyphs on the model, the sculptor has engraved his own signature: *BASSALLECTVS*. The rounded "beard" for a mane, the drooping ears and eyebrows, the highly accentuated chin and the rounded profile are all characteristic of Egyptian lions and of their Cosmati copies. These stylistic features are evident on the lions of the entrance of S. Lorenzo in Lucina at Rome[1] (figs. 9 and 10), of the choir of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (fig. 11), of the sacristy door of Ferentino cathedral[2] (fig. 12), as well as of the famous episcopal throne of Anagni[3] (fig. 13). The same characteristics have led J. Deér[4] to identify two porphyry heads of lions from Sicily as the first Cosmati copies of Egyptian models in Rome. All these lions have their head slightly turned sideways; their forepaws are kept apart and are in the axis of the body. There were, in fact, some other Egyptian lions in Rome, apart from those at the Pantheon, which could be seen in the Middle Ages and be copied—the pair near the Lateran (nos. 275-276), and perhaps the lions now on the Capitol (nos. 271-272), or at Dresden (nos. 268-270).

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[1] K. Noehles, op. cit., figs. 32-33.

[2] Idem, fig. 31.

[3] Idem, fig. 26.

[4] Idem, fig. 25.

[5] Idem, fig. 30.

[6] Idem, fig. 36.

[7] A. Venturi, op. cit., fig. 715.

[8] Note also the posture the Cosmati sphinxes. The chest is either perpendicular to the base or forms an acute angle with it, giving the impression that the monster is about to leap forward. Egyptian sphinxes, on the contrary, have their chest at an open angle with their base. This clumsy detail of the Cosmati sculptures is presumably due to the difficulty of setting a human head on a lion body, and to the fact that these medieval sphinxes usually support something.

[9] The numbers indicated between brackets refer to the catalogue raisonné below.

In the 13th century, the Cosmati were given the task of erecting an obelisk on the Capitol (no. 73), presumably in connection with the newly built palace of the Senators on the same hill. There was at least one other obelisk standing in Rome at the time, near the Vatican, which could serve as a model (no. 68). The upper fragment of an obelisk from the Iseum Campense was taken to the Capitol, and the Cosmati completed its shaft with a re-cut granite column. The monument was set up on a pedestal with four lions[5].

Nevertheless, the lions and sphinxes copied by the Cosmati do not seem to have been related by these sculptors to Egypt. It is significant that when erecting the Capitoline obelisk, the Cosmati used for its pedestal Hellenistic lions and not the Egyptianizing ones which they had used for other monuments. This may explain why Egyptian copies by the Cosmati were rarely paired together.

Two centuries after the pre-Renaissance illustrated by the Cosmati, the city of Rome woke up to its past, and the Renaissance saw the reappearance of many Egyptian monuments of Imperial times together with the classical monuments with which they were excavated and displayed in collections. We can trace them, though they are rarely described with precision, through the contemporary guide-books of Rome[1], the inventories of the collections, and, above all, the sketchbooks of artists and antiquaries in Rome[2].

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[1] K. Noehles, op. cit., fig. 27.

[2] Idem, fig. 24.

[3] Idem, figs. 17, 19, 21.

[4] J. Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*, (1959), pp. 102-116, pl. 162-167.

[5] K. Noehles, op. cit. pp. 18-23, figs. 9-15.

The sketches are those executed c. 1450 by Ciriaco d'Ancona[3]; c. 1485-1510 by Cronaca[4] and Giuliano da Sangallo[5]; c. 1520-1530 by Giovanni Colonna[6]; c. 1535 by Maarten van Heemskerck[7]; c. 1535-1540 by Amico Aspertini[8]; c. 1538 by Francesco d'Ollanda[9] and Lambert Lombard[10]; c. 1555, by Stephan Vinand Pighius[11] and Pirro Ligorio[12]; c. 1559 by Jean-Jacques Boissard[13]; c. 1560-1570 by Pighius again[14], in the contemporary *Codex Ursinianus*[15]; by Baldassare Peruzzi[16], Giovannantonio Dosio[17], Pierre Jacques[18]; and

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[1] U. Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono* (ed. 1556, 1558, 1562); J. J. Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographia*, (1597).

[2] See below, Appendix II, p. 150.

[3] C. Hülsen, *La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona*, (1907). Ciriaco d'Ancona went, besides, twice to Egypt, in the years 1412-1414; see: CC van Essen, in *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen afd. Letterkunde*, (n.r. 21), XII, (1958), pp. 293-306; E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, (1960), pp. 18, 19 and note 5, 22-23, note 7.

[4] Cronaca, Ms. Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 r. and v.; and a page in Bayonne, collection Bonnat, inv. 1352 v.; for the last drawing, see J. Bean, *Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Les dessins italiens de la collection Bonnat* (Inventaire général des dessins des musées de province, IV), (1960), no. 252 v.

[5] Hülsen, *Giuliano da Sangallo.*

[6] Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 7721.

[7] Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck.*

[8] P. Pray Bober, *Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini*, (1957).

[9] E. Tormo, *O desenhos das antigualhas que vio Francisco d'Ollanda..*, (1940).

[10] Liège, Musée des Beaux-Arts, cabinet des dessins, the so-called "album de la collection d'Arenberg"; see also: Dacos, *Les peintres belges à Rome au XVIIIe siècle*, (1964), pp. 31-39.

[11] *Codex Coburgensis*; see: F. Matz, in *Monatsberichte d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, (Sept.-Oct. 1871), pp. 445-499.

[12] T. Ashby, in *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 170 f.; Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio.*

[13] Stockholm, Ms. S. 68.

[14] *Codex Pighianus*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. Lat. fol. 61; see: O. Jahn, in *Berichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, XX, (1868), pp. 161-235. On Stephan Vinand Pighius and his trips in Italy, see: J. H. Jongkees, in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, (s. 3), VIII, (1954), pp. 120-185.

[15] Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439.

[16] H. Egger, in *Jahrb. d. Kunsthist.*, XXIII, (1902), pp. 1-44.

[17] C. Hülsen, *Das Skizzenbuch d. Giovannantonio Dosio*, (1933).

[18] S. Reinach, *L'album de Pierre Jacques*, (1902).

c. 1590 by Etienne Dupérac[1]; Cassiano dal Pozzo, in the first half of the 17th century, also drew several pieces, or had them copied from earlier sketchbooks[2].

A close study of these sketchbooks shows that, apart from obelisks on which public interest had focussed at the time of the publication of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by F. Colonna in 1499, with the sole exception of Cronaca, the Egyptian antiquities of Rome did not draw particular attention from the humanists and the artists of the first part of the Renaissance. They are mentioned incidentally only. This indifference is difficult to account for since most European intellectuals at this time got involved in discussions on Egypt, its mysteries and its hieroglyphs[3]. Curiously enough, but very much in the mediaeval tradition, the arguments on the subject were based solely on the literary sources, and the archaeological documents which began to be available at the time were never mentioned.

It is only in the second half of the 16th century that a more widely spread interest in Egyptian antiquities as such appeared, with systematic series of sketches which are invaluable for the student (particularly those of Pirro Ligorio, the *Codex Ursinianus*, Dupérac). Publications on the subject began to appear. When Mercati published his book on the obelisks of Rome[4], after Sixtus V's plans and works, N. van Aelst came to Rome to collect some drawings of Egyptian antiquities for the *Thesaurus hieroglyphicorum* published some years later, in about 1608, by J. G. Herwart von Hohenburg. L. Pignoria had meanwhile published his *Characteres aegytii*.

In the 17th century, a more scientific attitude prevailed, best illustrated by Kircher's work on Egyptian antiquities[5]. At the same time large collections of Aegyptiaca and monuments imported from

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[1] Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*. A copy of this sketchbook can also be seen in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fonds français 382.

[2] Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, B.M.*; idem, *Dal Pozzo, Windsor*.

[3] K. Giehlow, "Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie d. Renaissance", in *Jahrb. d. Kunst Sammlung d. A. H. Kaiserhauses*, XXXII, (1915); R. Enking, *Der Apis-Altar Johann Melchior Dinglingers* (Leipziger ägyptologische Studien, 11), (1939), pp. 7-13; K. Dannenfeldt, in *Studies in the Renaissance*, VI, (1959), pp. 7-27; E. Iversen, *Myth*, pp. 59-87; M. V. David, *Le débat sur les écritures et l'hiéroglyphe aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles et l'application de la notion de déchiffrement aux écritures mortes*, (1965).

[4] M. Mercati, *De gli obelischi di Roma*, (1589).

[5] Kircher, *Ob. Pamph.; Oed. aeg.; Ob. aeg.*

Egypt were embarked upon. Though it is no longer possible to assume that an Egyptian piece in a Roman collection in those years was found in Rome (it could have been a direct import from Egypt), as a result of this increasing interest in Egyptian antiquities systematic records of the origin of the monuments begin to appear.

From then on, through catalogues of collections or museums, and in general studies on antiquities, of which Montfaucon[1] and Caylus[2] and then Winckelmann's[3] publications are the first examples, it is relatively easy to follow the history of the Egyptian monuments of Imperial Rome which have gradually come back to light.

Moreover, as Egypt became fashionable after Napoléon's expedition, they gained a new fame. The "retour d'Égypte" style borrowed from them most of its characteristics.

In the 19th century, discoveries in Egypt itself tended to overshadow the importance of finds of Egyptian antiquities in Rome. Still, a year after the 1883 excavations on the site of the Iseum Campense, Lafaye's book on the cult of Alexandrian gods outside Egypt represented the first attempt at a catalogue raisonné on the subject, dealing particularly with Rome[4]. Since then, only the Roman obelisks have been exhaustively studies[5], while much has remained to be said on the other Egyptian monuments found in this city.

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[1] Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*

[2] Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines,* (1752-1767), 7 vol.

[3] J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst..*, 1764.

[4] Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*

[5] D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*; Iversen, *Obelisks.*

CHAPTER TWO

TYPE AND STYLE
OF THE
EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANIZING MONUMENTS
OF IMPERIAL ROME

1. MONUMENTS EXPORTED FROM EGYPT TO IMPERIAL ROME

An examination of the list of Egyptian antiquities[1] exported from Egypt under the Roman Empire is instructive. Most of them are Late Period productions, i.e. a relatively contemporary production, easily available but far from characteristic of Egyptian genius. Most of them, also, come from Lower Egypt, the delta area which had been the place of residence of the later dynasties since the Ramessids, and which had been endowed with innumerable monuments since then. In addition, they come from religious monuments, which is hardly surprising since, in Egypt, all art was religious, and native profane art, even reduced to private architecture, must have disappeared after two centuries of Hellenistic domination.

These Roman imports are indicative of the Roman idea of Egypt. They are mostly obelisks, sphinxes, lions, the puzzling ex-votos, the animal-headed gods (roughly the idea that the 20th-century visitor gets after a visit to a museum). The proportion of cult statues is extremely small compared to the number of "decor" statues. This could be either an accident (the Christians having destroyed the statues of gods but left the innocuous other representations), or due to the fact that Egyptian antiquities were imported mainly to create an atmosphere.

A special word must be said on obelisks taken to Europe, mainly Rome. The obelisk was connected both with the sun and with the ruler's power, in Roman Egypt and in Italy. "Monoliths... were made by the kings, to some extent in rivalry with one another" wrote Pliny[2]. Like the pharaohs, the Roman rulers had obelisks erected in

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[1] See Appendix III, p. 153, and fig. 14, the sites of discoveries of the major Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments in Italy.

[2] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVI, XIV, (64) (transl. D. E. Eichholz, (1962), pp. 50-51). See also below p. 44, note 3.

Egypt: "There are two other obelisks at Alexandria in the precinct of the temple of Caesar near the harbour", Pliny adds. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of the Egyptian obelisks:

> "...which kings of long ago, when they had subdued foreign nations in war or were proud of the prosperous condition of their realms, hewed out of the veins of the mountains which they sought for even among the remotest dwellers on the globe, set up, and in their religious devotion dedicated to the gods of heaven. Now an obelisk is a very hard stone, rising gradually somewhat in the form of a turning post to a lofty height; little by little it grows slenderer, to imitate a sunbeam; it is four-sided, tapers to a narrow point, and is polished by the workman's hand."[1]

A more spectacular way to assert one's power was to bring some of these monoliths to Rome. Most of the obelisks imported into Europe were from the delta area, that is Heliopolis or Sais. Some were already inscribed; some were uninscribed, perhaps used as cult objects in temples. Pliny, and later Ammianus Marcellinus, specify that the Vatican obelisk (no. 68) had been brought from Egypt, as was the one in the Gardens of Sallust (no. 71), and the pair erected near Augustus' mausoleum (nos. 81-82). Some of the uninscribed obelisks were carved at Rome with a hieroglyphic text, a Roman imitation, elaborated presumably by the local college of Egyptian priests and perhaps carved by Egyptian craftsmen settled in Italy. Only this can explain the relatively crude carving of the Roman hieroglyphs compared to the perfect technique with which contemporary hieroglyphs were executed on temple walls in Egypt. These "obelisks in exile"[2] were used for a variety of purposes, as solar—and political—symbols in a sundial, or on the spina of a circus, or as a religious symbol in front of temples or tombs. Tradition reports that Rome possessed eight big obelisks and no less than forty-two small ones[3].

Many of the genuine Egyptian objects found in Europe and still bearing a text date from the XIXth Dynasty, under Sethos I and (mainly) Ramesses II. This was, perhaps, a deliberate choice, resulting from a confusion between Ramesses II-Sesostris-Osymandias, giving to Ramesses II a special renown. But it could also be fortuitous since the delta temples (Tanis, Bubastis, etc.) were full of Ramesses II's monuments which were moved to Alexandria.

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[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 4 (7), (transl. J. C. Rolfe, (1963), I, p. 321).

[2] Iversen, *Obelisks*.

[3] L. Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*, (1871), p. 43:
"Obelisci magni VIII. Duo in Circo Maximo. Maior est pedum CXXII. Minor P. LXXXVIII et Semis. Unus in Vaticano pedum LXXII. Unus in Campo Martio pedum LXXII. Duo in Mausoleo Augusti pares.

Another large group of objects dates from the saitic XXVIth Dynasty, particularly from Psammetichus II. Under these kings, relations between Egyptians and Greeks were first established and the Greeks began to settle in Egypt[1].

A final group of objects dates from Nectanebo I and II[2], pharaohs of the XXXth Dynasty. The two kings had been devotedly Isiac. Nectanebo I has left several inscriptions with his name on the walls of the Iseum of Philae, and Nectanebo II on those of the Iseum of Behbet el-Hagar[3]. Both had been equally devoted to the cult of Osiris-Apis, as shown by the temple of Nectanebo I and the stelae of the Serapeum of Memphis, as well as a curious obelisk of Nectanebo II, probably from Horbeit, and now at the Brooklyn Museum in New York, no. 36614 (the lower part of which—or of its twin—is in the Cairo Museum, no. 17031)[4]. The Brooklyn fragment is dedicated to a solarised Osiris-bull instead of being dedicated, as usual to Re-Harakhty. Besides, Nectanebo II had worshipped Amun at Siwa[5], thus assuming a special importance for the Graeco-Roman rulers whom tradition had legitimized as rightful kings of Egypt after the episode of Alexander at Siwa. Finally, Nectanebo II, who had already been famous among the Alexandrians as a magician

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> Singuli P. XLII et Semis. Obelisci parvi duo et quadraginta. In plerisque sunt notae Aegyptiorum."

Urlich supposes that the amazing number of "duo et quadraginta" is a mistake. The actual number of small obelisks should be "duo" and the "quadraginta" would be a copy of the line above, where is written "XLII". Thus one would have the eight obelisks mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph. The two small obelisks could be those of S. Macuto and of the Capitol. In *Cod. top.*, I, p. 251, there are only six large obelisks mentioned.

[1] E. Drioton-J. Vandier, *Les peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen.* II: *l'Egypte,* (1962), pp. 574-576, 581-584.

[2] Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, XVI, col. 2237, 2238, 2239.

[3] For the list of monuments erected by the two Nectanebos, see: F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Aegyptens von 7. bis zum 4. Jahrb. vor der Zeitwende,* (1953), pp. 199-230.

[4] Ch. Kuentz, *Cat. gen. musée du Caire,* (1932), *Obélisques,* pp. 62-63.

[5] R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans,* (1954), pp. 74-75.

and astrologer[1], kept his reputation in Roman antiquity[2] (see Suetonius, Pliny), and much later, in mediaeval times, when he was claimed at the same time to be the actual father of Alexander. The importance of the Nectanebos for the Romans can be seen also in minor objects, such as the Pompeii shawabti,[3] or in copies such as the canopic jar (no. 314) now in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio, which bears a Roman pastiche of a hieroglyphic text with the cartouche of Nectanebo I.

Egyptian objects which were destined for export to Rome fall into three categories: those taken at random, from what was available, close at hand and easily accessible; those belonging to famous sites; those bearing royal cartouches chosen as historic and religious relics. This presupposes that the importers of the third category had a good knowledge of Egyptian language and civilisation[4]. What Roman would have had this knowledge when the Greeks of Alexandria did not possess it? Surely it could only have been an Egyptian and a priest.

Little has been said, up to now, about the origin, the formation and the organization of the Isiac clergy in the Western Roman Empire. Only hazardous deductions can be made from a limited number of documents[5]. There were certainly Romans associated with the Isiac clergy. There are a great number of busts, so-called of "Scipio Africanus", bearing on their shaved skull the mark of a cross; they are representations of Roman Isiac priests[6]. If the innumerable statues of Roman priestesses of Isis found all over the Roman Empire are added to them, it can be assumed that there was a large number of Romans among the Isiac clergy.

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[1] U. Wilcken, *Der Traum des Königs Nektonabos,* (1906); G. Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Egypte antique,* (1911), pp. 306-310.

[2] F. W. Schneidewin- E. V. Leutsch- O. Crusius, *Philologus, Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum,* VI (suppl. vol.), (1891-1893), pp. 327-330.

[3] J. F. Champollion-Figeac, *Egypte ancienne,* (1847), p. 385; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 419.

[4] Iversen, *Myth,* pp. 52-56.

[5] Monsieur Michel Malaise will publish in this same series a book on *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie.*

[6] W. Dennison, in the *American Journal of Archaeology,* IX, (1905), pp. 11-43, pl. I; J. Babelon, in *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires,* XXXIII, (1940), pp. 117-128, pl. VII; C. C. Vermeule, in *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin,* XVII, (fall 1959), 1, pp. 7-13, and fig. Other representations of the Isiac clergy are in Benevento, Museo del Sannio, nos. 284, 286, 288, see: H. W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent,* (1969), pp. 95-98, 102-104, 106, pl. XXX, 1 and 2, and XXXII, 1; Musée du Louvre, Bronze Fouquet, Br. 4165, and Br. 4394, see: J. Charbonneaux, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol,* I, (1966), pp. 407-420, figs. 1 to 6; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, see: D. Kent Hill,

But if representations of Roman Isiac ceremonies are examined[1], brown-skinned figures[2] can be seen which are obviously not Roman. In fact, the hard core of any temple priesthood must have been Egyptian[3]. These men were able to maintain the links between the old pharaonic land and the Roman Empire outside, perhaps charged to order statues and reliefs for the European temples, certainly responsible for the drafting of hieroglyphic texts of Roman obelisks[4]. Another fact would confirm the presence of Egyptian priests in the Roman Iseums. Several reliefs or paintings show a priest wearing a mask shaped as a jackal's head[5], thus identifying him with Anubis, the embalmer god of Egypt. In addition several mummies "traitées à l'égyptienne"[6] have been found in places where this custom was usually unknown (at Rome and in Hungary). Funerary steles shaped like mummies are represented on Campanian frescoes[7]

Catalogue of the Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery, pl. 5, no. 137. For the Alexandrian type, see Charbonneaux, op. cit., fig. 9.

[1] Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, pl. XXIII.

[2] These brown-skinned people may have been negroes. On negroes in Isiac cults, cf.: F. M. Snowden, "Ethiopians and the Isiac Worship", in *Antiquité classique*, XXX, (1956), fasc. 1, pp.1 12-116; idem, *Blacks in Antiquity. Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*, (1970).

[3] G. La Piana, in *Harvard Theological Review*, XX, (1927), pp. 302-310.

[4] J. Černy, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, (1952), p. 141, mentions a certain Harnouphis accompanying the Roman army as priest of Isis in the late 2nd century A.D., who calls himself "Egyptian scholar" on an altar which he dedicated at Aquileia.

[5] Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 92-93, pl. V, 3; A. García y Bellido, *Religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, (1967), p. 110, pl. XI. This catalogue, no. 51.

[6] Under Sixtus IV, a mummy was found on the Appian Way, and, under Alexander VI, another at Albano. See: Dr. L. Dérobert-H. Reichlen, *Les momies et le culte des morts dans le monde sauvage et civilisé*, (1947), p. 129. In February 1964, at Rome, in the Via Cassia, a child's mummy was found: *The Sunday Times*, 16 February 1964; J. Leclant, in *Orientalia*, XXXIV, (1965), p. 228, no. 13 d (dates it to about A.D. 150). In Hungary, at Aquincum, and in Austria, at Carnuntum, mummies with Egyptian sandals have been found. See: L. Nagy, in *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, (1935); J. Leclant, in *Revue archéologique*, XXXVI, (1950), p. 149; V. Wessetsky, *Die ägyptischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn*, (1961), pp. 10-13; K. Póczy, in *Archaeologiai Ertesitö*, XCI, (1964), pp. 176-191; J. Leclant, in *Orientalia*, XXXIII, (1964), p. 395, no. 14 c; ibidem, XXXVI, (1967), p. 220, no. 10.

[7] Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, pl. X.

and one of these has actually been found at Reggio Emilia[1]. It is tempting—and quite logical—to link the Anubis priest with the mummies, and to suppose that the former was an Egyptian leading a staff of Egyptian embalmers practising outside the Rome poemerium. Throughout the ranks of the Isiac clergy, from the learned priest, tutor and adviser, to the sub-assistants of the funerary services, there were probably Egyptians. With them, several Egyptian craftsmen must have settled near the temple, doing particular jobs for the temple, mainly copies of the imported monuments to perfect the proper atmosphere, so much appreciated by the Roman congregation.

2. The Monuments created at Rome

The number of imitations and Egyptianizing pieces which survive from the Roman Empire[2] greatly surpasses that of genuine Egyptian antiquities imported into Italy during the same period. The increasing fame of the Egyptian cults in Europe, and the fashion for exotic Egyptian decor among the Roman aristocracy led to a huge demand for Egyptian objects. But the Egyptian antiquities had to be brought from far away and they were usually large and difficult to transport. It was easier to copy the few genuine pieces close at hand or to create compositions "dans le style" inspired by Egyptian art. A careful distinction must be made between duplicates (nos. 277, 181) created to balance an isolated genuine monument, and mere imitations created after a genuine piece, but used independently of it.

Who could execute such copies? The working of hard stone, the respect for Egyptian proportions and way of representation were severe demands on a Roman sculptor trained to express classical figures in marble or limestone. A good copy could only be done properly by an Egyptian. Strong doubts must be felt about accepting the thesis that these copies were executed at Alexandria, in second-rate workshops. Why should the Roman emperors and aristocracy have ordered a relatively mediocre production and taken the trouble to have it brought back to Italy, when they could have found excellent genuine pieces only a few miles away? The copies must have been executed in Italy. It is virtually certain that the duplicates were made in Rome to fulfil the needs of the layout of a temple, palace or villa. The Egyptian craftsmen, authors of such pieces, settled in Italy in the middle of the 1st century A.D. to satisfy an already significant demand.

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[1] M. Degani, *Il culto di Iside nel territorio reggiano. Reggio Emilia,* (1946); S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale,* (1961), p. 164, no. 415, pl. 72.

[2] See Appendix IV, list of the Egyptianizing monuments created in Imperial Rome, p. 157.

The work was executed mostly in Italian stones, especially marble, for architectural elements (reliefs, capitals, etc.). But hard stones were the favourite medium for statues. There must have been an important trade in stones from Egypt, red granite from Aswan, black granite, "basalt", all common materials for Egyptian statuary. The boats, loaded with the stones, would leave their cargo on the bank of the Tiber, at the marble market, where it was sold to the craftsmen settled nearby. It is perhaps the reason why a Roman copy of a head of Isis, cut in red sandstone, has been found on the site of the marble market, near the present Via Marmorata (no. 117).

Roman Egyptomania inspired a new taste for coloured stones not used, or used only at an early period, in Egypt itself. The Romans were the first to use the Egyptian red porphyry[1], never worked in Egypt (nos. 105, 109, 225, 235)[2]. Similarly, onyx, not used in Egypt for the inlaid eyes of statues, is found on Roman Egyptianizing pieces (no. 253) or is used for the restoration of the eyes of genuine pieces (no. 265). Dark coloured marble, from Greece or Italy, was much in favour, especially in Hadrian's time. It was a cheaper substitute for Egyptian stones and was easier to work. The Antinous cut in "rosso antico" serves as an example (no. 98). The statues were also highly polished to imitate late Egyptian productions, mainly those of the XXXth Dynasty.

Coloured stones were sought for sculpture. In painting colouring was violent, as in the black, green and yellow figures of Boscotrecase and Pompeii[1], the Vatican necropolis[2] and the mosaic of Prima Porta[3].

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[1] R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, (1932). Some of the columns of the Serapeum on the Quirinal were in porphyry. See: A. Hermann, "Porphyra und Pyramide", in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, VII, 1964, pp. 117-138.

[2] One should also mention an obelisk in porphyry, from Constantinople, now in the museum of that city.

It is interesting to note that the second generation of Egyptian workers in Italy had already lost the skill and style of their fathers (a phenomenon also noticeable in Egypt at the same time, but to a lesser extent). If Domitian's production could still be classed as Egyptian, Hadrian's creations were often only Egyptianizing, with a few remarkable exceptions, such as no. 105. The late Roman Empire was to Egyptian art what the 19th century was to mediaeval art, and Hadrian's revivals could match Viollet-le-Duc's.

As for the representation of figures, Egyptian style seems to have been reduced by the Romans to a peculiar combination of distorted attitudes and exotic garments. The importance of the right proportions was ignored, as was a figure's symbolic and religious significance. As long as a certain stiff static position (kneeling, or standing, one leg forward, with the fists clenched) was reproduced, this was considered adequate to identify it as an Egyptian figure. In sculpture in the round, back pillars were either forgotten or replaced by a little obelisk (no. 135), a tree trunk (no. 100), or even a heavy coat falling straight from the shoulders down to the feet[4]. The size of the copies was usually smaller than that of the originals, and became even smaller as time went on.

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[1] Third style painting discovered in an imperial villa at Boscotrecase, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. See: C. Alexander, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I, (2), (1929), pp. 177-179, pl. II; P. V. Blanckenhagen-C. Alexander, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase*, (1962), pp. 13-14, pl. 5,6, p. 17, pl. 25, 26, 27; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peinture*, (1922), p. 160, 1-6; K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeii*, (1962), p. 64, pl. 42 and pp. 197-202; Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, p. 63, cat. no. 64. On the painting of Pompeii, see: F. Le Corsu, in *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*, LI, (March 1968), pp. 17-31, pl. III-IV, and fig. 1.

[2] Three profiles of a god (blue, green, yellow, on a red background) painted on the walls of a private mausoleum. See: Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415; *Life Magazine*, (April 10 1950), p. 39, fig. 13; O'Callaghan, in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XII, (February 1949), p. 4, note 2, and p. 10.

[3] Polychrome mosaic of the early Antonine period which belonged to a building of the imperial house at Prima Porta. It represents a scene very similar to the one on the relief no. 49. See: O. Marucchi, in *Bull. Com.*, XX, (1892), pp. 160-174, pl. VII-VIII; G. Bénédite, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XIII, (1893), pp. 49-59, pl. I; M. E. Blake, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XIII, (1936), pp. 76, 118-119, 182, pl. 25 (3); A. Oliver, "The Montebello Mosaics", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIX, (1965), pp. 268-270, pl. 71, fig. 2 and pl. 72, fig. 1-2.

[4] Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 129270. See above, p. 4, note 5.

The copy gradually showed the marks of Roman realism. If copies of standing figures are considered in profile, it is noticeable that the statue is no longer resting on its spine and heels as in Egyptian representations but actually steps forward and rests on its toes, which is the natural position of a human with a leg forward, in the act of moving or about to move. This displacement of the balance of the figure to a more natural point is also noticeable when copies or Egyptianizing pieces are seen from the front. If the figure is successfully executed in a resting position, with its weight on its spine and heels, this is expressed in a classical way: the statue is resting on its back leg. This position is rendered at the hip level by a slight contraposto which contravenes totally the Egyptian law of frontal symmetry. The statue has, moreover, lost the inner tension which characterizes the Egyptian figures, and presents a rather relaxed flaccid musculature (nos. 98, 100).

On a low-relief it was thought sufficient to represent a figure with head and legs in profile and shoulders in front view, for it to qualify as Egyptian (nos. 16-19). This paradoxical use of the two-dimensional Egyptian way of representation for classical Hellenistic figures had already been experimented with at a very early stage in the tomb of Petosiris in Egypt[1].

The awkward position of the figure, already thought of as the Egyptian way of representation, went hand in hand with the appropriate fancy-dress. Besides the usual pharaoh's outfit with the kilt and the nemes head-dress there was, on the female side, the closely-fitting tunic of Isis with its peculiar knot between the breasts, and the large necklace. The priest's costume[2] and apparatus was complicated enough to stir attention. On his shaved skull he wore a ribbon; a long white robe fell from the arm-pits down to the ground; sometimes a shawl with embroidered signs covered his shoulders. In his arms he carried some vessel, a hydria, a canopic jar, an Osiris Canopus, or, in his hand, a sistrum (nos. 16-19). There was, of course, also the inevitable Nilotic landscape in the background, complete with palm-trees, crocodiles, ibises and obelisks (no. 332)[3].

As an illustration of the deep misunderstanding of Egyptian representation by the Romans, two Roman restorations made of genuine Egyptian pieces may be cited. Hadrian had, presumably among his collections, the body of a Ptolemaic Isis, a full figure covered with the narrow pleated tunic knotted between the heavy breasts; only its head was missing. But it was thought easy to repair, for the restorer found a new head among other Egyptian fragments, that of a priest with a short wig (?XXXth Dynasty-Ptolemaic) (no. 123). The Romans not only failed to distinguish two different styles, they could not even tell the sexes apart. Another restoration which constitutes a vandalism, was executed on a beautiful but damaged Ptolemaic Isis (no. 121). The restorer here erased a good deal of the sensuous curves of the body and clumsily managed to cut into the hard stone a new Hellenistic drapery with diagonal pleats.

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[1] G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, (1924), I, pp. 10-12, pp. 31-32; II, pl. XIX.

[2] H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* (1924-1934), IX-XI, no. 51.

[3] On the general style of the Egyptianizing objects in the Roman world, see Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 243-248.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SETTING OF THE EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANIZING MONUMENTS IN IMPERIAL ROME

1. The Iseums

When, in the second half of the first century A.D., the Isiac cults received imperial protection and favour, Rome naturally became the main European centre for the worship of Egyptian divinities (fig. 15).

The Iseum Campense

The greatest of the Roman Iseums was the Iseum Campense. There had been a cult of Isis in the Campus Martius for the last two centuries of the Republic. But the temple had been destroyed under Tiberius, after the scandal of Decius Mundus, and many of its statues had been thrown in the Tiber. The sanctuary was probably rebuilt under Caligula (A.D. 37-41), but was burnt down during the reign of Titus in A.D. 80. The temple was re-built by Domitian, improved for more than a century, and duly restored by Severus Alexander. It was still famous in the last years of the 4th century, just before the sack of Rome in 410[1].

Juvenal[2] mentions the temple of Isis and Serapis as standing in the immediate neighbourhood of the Saepta Iulia[3], and the marble plan of Septimius Severus confirms this. As none of the main discoveries, made since the 14th century in excavations in the area of the Iseum, lay beyond the Via del Seminario and the Via di S. Ignazio, it is probable that the sacred area of the temple was limited to the south by the present Via Pié di Marmo and S. Stefano del Cacco, on the west by an axis following the transept of S. Maria sopra Minerva (the nave of which was built on a temple of Minerva Calcidica), to the north by the Via del Seminario, and to the east by the Via di S. Ignazio. This constitutes a long rectangular area prolonging the building indicated on the marble plan. Its axis runs north-south, from a point roughly west of the present S. Macuto, to the centre of the nave of S. Stefano del Cacco (fig. 347).

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[1] On the subject of the Iseum Campense see: Kircher, *Ob. Aeg.*, pp. 5-10 (our fig. 16); R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), pp. 33-60; idem, *Ruins and Excav.*, pp. 502-504; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 216-226; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 510-511; Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 24-25; also the thesis of Tschudin, *Isis in Rom*, Diss. Basel, 1962.

[2] Juvenal, VI , 527 f. (transl. G. G. Ramsay, (1950), p. 127).

[3] On the general topography of the Iseum see: G. Gatti, in *Rend. Atti Pont. Accad. rom.*, XX, (1943-1944), pp. 117-163.

Martial[1] calls the temple "memphitica", by comparison with the Serapeum of Memphis. This seems acceptable. The temple was, indeed, surrounded by walls, like Egyptian temples, and the inner distribution of the monuments and buildings followed patterns already seen both in Egyptian and Hellenistic sanctuaries, of which the Iseum Campense seems to have been a synthesis.

If, following Martial's suggestion, particular attention is given to a possible relation with the Serapeum of Memphis[2], and if the plans of both monuments are compared, common features can be seen. The relatively clear plan of the Serapeum of Memphis (fig. 349) can help to indicate conclusions about the Iseum Campense. The main complex of buildings in the Serapeum of Memphis was composed of two temples linked by a straight dromos. The temple of Nectanebo I, at the east, faced the Serapeum proper at the west, one at each end of a paved dromos about 86 metres long. The access to the dromos was from the side, by an avenue of sphinxes which ended up on the northern side of the dromos near the temple of Nectanebo I, opposite a hemicycle. Along the dromos, on the low wall which bordered it, there was a mixture of Hellenistic and Egyptian statues. While the entrance to the temple of Nectanebo I was framed by a pair of sphinxes, the pylon of the Serapeum was guarded by two recumbent lions of Nectanebo I, similar to the ones exported to the Iseum Campense (nos. 273-274). The western wall of the dromos opened to give room to two small buildings, one Greek, the other an Egyptian chapel containing a statue of an Apis[3] (figs. 18 and 19). The dromos was often used for oracles given by children in hypnotic trances[4] dancing on the ground in front of the small chapels to the music of flutes[1]. The following features must be stressed: a side entrance, a temple at each end of the dromos, a hemicycle, small chapels along the dromos, and, generally, a mixture of Egyptian and Hellenistic elements. The same characteristics appeared in the Iseum Campense, which, in spite of interpretations and the addition of other elements, deserved the designation "memphitica".

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[1] Martial, II, XIV, 7 (transl. W. C. A. Ker, (1947), p. 119).

[2] *Chronique d'Egypte*, XXXVIII, (1962), pp. 359-381; J. P. Lauer-Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaiques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, (1955).

[3] Lauer-Picard, op. cit., pp. 173-176, pl. 17a-b.

[4] H. Wild, *Les danses sacrées de l'Egypte ancienne*, (1963), (Sources orientales, VI).

The two entrances of the Iseum Campense were from the sides, at right angles to the main axis of the temple. The principal entrance was on the eastern side. This archway was still standing in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and was known as "Arco di Camigliano"[2] (fig. 17). It was destroyed at the end of the 16th century[3]. This arch has been identified with the "Arcus ad Isis" carved on the sarcophagus of the Haterii[4]. Castagnoli[5] points out that the standing statue under the main arch is that of Minerva, and, recalling the temple of Minerva next to the Iseum, uses this as evidence to identify the arch with the eastern entrance of the Iseum. This seems a rather distorted explanation, and "Arcus ad Isis" is best considered as the proper entrance to the sanctuary of Minerva, *near* the Iseum ("*ad* Isis"), without further relation than that of simple neighbourhood[1]. The other gateway of the Iseum, on the western side, opened onto the portico of the Saepta Iulia.

Between those two entrances there was a central courtyard, now occupied by the Via Pié di Marmo (fig. 348); such an intermediary courtyard had already been used in the Serapeum C at Delos[7] (fig. 350). The marble plan of Rome shows in its centre two objects, which Iversen thinks were a round fountain and the obelisk now in the

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[1] Idem, pp. 253-254. On the original use of the dromos, see Ch. Picard, in *Revue archéologique*, XLI, (1953), pp. 206-209.

[2] G. Gatti, in *Rend. Atti Pontif. Accad. rom.*, XX, (1943-1944), pls. III-IV.

[3] F. Erhle, *La pianta di Roma, Du Pérac-Lafrery, del 1577*, (1908); A. P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, (1962), II, pl. 265 (plan of A. Tempesta, 1593).

[4] Museo Laterano, sala VIII, no. 418. Bibliography in Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, p. 118, and fig. p. 119.

[5] F. Castagnoli, in *Bull. Com.*, LXIX, (1941), pp. 65-66, pl. II.

[6] In comparison, note the Roman jug from a London tavern near the temple of Isis, bearing on its shoulder the graffito "LONDINI AD FANUM ISIDIS". See: E. and J. R. Harris, *Oriental Cults in Roman Britain* (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, VI), (1965), p. 79, note 5, and pl. XVIII.

[7] P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^{e} au I^{er} siècle av. J.C.*, (1915-1916), pl. III.

Piazza Navona[1], bearing a hieroglyphic dedication by Domitian (no. 72). In the long axis of the temple, on either side of this courtyard, there were the entrances, south, to the Serapeum, and north, to the Iseum. The marble plan gives little or no indication about these four entrances that led into the courtyard, and to the Serapeum and the Iseum[2].

The eastern gateway, the "Arco di Camigliano", is only partly indicated on the marble plan. Several scholars have tried to reconstruct its original plan and have proposed various hypothesis[3]. My own view does not pretend to be more than another attempt to tackle this difficult problem, another light in which it can be considered. Hülsen thought that the eastern gateway of the Iseum Campense had one single arch[4], Lundström gave it two arches[5], and Gatti three[6]. It seems that Hülsen's solution is the more likely to be correct. Some information is actually given by the marble plan itself, and by its fragment which shows the obelisk in the central courtyard. Logically, this monument ought to have stood on an axis running from the middle of the eastern entrance to the middle of the western one, so it could be seen immediately upon entering the sanctuary. Assuming that the relative positions of the different elements of the Iseum and Serapeum Campense indicated on the marble plan are exact, the obelisk stood in the axis of the archway which bridged the two piers shown on the marble plan. In other words, the gateway had either one or three archways. The different plans[7] or views[8] of Rome (fig. 17) showing the "Arco di Camigliano" in the 16th century, before it was destroyed, tend to support Hülsen's hypothesis.

The plan of the western gate of the Iseum was still evident at the time of Giuliano da Sangallo, about 1515. Sangallo left a detailed drawing of it as "Giano accanto alla Minerva"[9].

The disposition of the sanctuaries is indicated by the location of the discoveries. Egyptian and Egyptianizing statues more closely connected with the cult of Isis have been found north of the central courtyard, while Hellenistic pieces (such as the recumbent Nile or a votive foot) were found in this courtyard area and south of it (fig. 348). The Serapeum, as indicated on the marble plan, was semicircular, probably a remote reminder of the hemicycle of the Memphis Serapeum. (This pattern was imitated by Hadrian at Tivoli, for the building erected at the end of the Canopus, and named also "Serapeum"[1] (fig. 351).

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[1] Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 78-80.

[2] R. Lanciani-C. Hülsen, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*, (1950), pl. XXXI.

[3] Ibidem, p. 99.

[4] In *Röm. Mitt.*, (1903), p. 17 f., pls. I-II.

[5] *Undersökningar i Roms topografi*, (1929).

[6] Op. cit., pls. III-IV.

[7] Ibidem, figs. 4, 7, 11.

[8] Ibidem, figs. 5, 6.

[9] Ibidem, fig. 11.

The Iseum stood, presumably, opposite to the Serapeum, at the very north end of the temple, inside a second larger courtyard surrounded by a portico (fig. 352)[2]. The marble plan indicates part of this portico and some of its columns, which, compared with the columns of the Serapeum itself, seem quite colossal (notice the wide space between the columns on the plan). It was probably some remains of this colonnade which were found along the portico (west and east) in the 17th century, and in 1853, 1858, 1859, 1883, and 1923 (nos. 9-14, 16-19). The colonnade consists of a series of Egyptianizing columns with lotiform capitals. The material, the profile, the capitals, and even the clumsy carvings on their shaft were meant to recall the columns standing in the halls of the great Egyptian temples.

Inside the courtyard, under the portico itself, there must have been numerous small "chapels", in the recesses between the columns. The pavements of some of these were found in 1642 near the Via del Seminario (no. 25); other fragments were seen in the convent of the Dominicans in the 17th century (no. 31), and in 1858 in the Via di San Ignazio (no. 34). Two interesting Roman low-reliefs represent a similar lay-out of a portico, and possibly an interpretation of the Iseum Campense portico itself. The larger of these reliefs was found in a tomb along the Appian Way at Ariccia[3] and is now in the Museo

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[1] S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, (1961), map between pp. 104-105.

[2] R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), supposes that the entrance of the Iseum was actually in this north wall, in front of S. Macuto; and that the dromos led from there to the Serapeum. A problem then arises: where, logically, could the Iseum be? From the disposition of the Serapeum and Iseum at Delos, one could suggest two axes at right angles: from the north wall, along the dromos to the Serapeum; and from the Arco di Camigliano, across the intermediary courtyard to the Iseum, standing roughly south, and parallel to the actual nave of S. Maria Sopra Minerva. But the site of the discoveries does not cover this area.

[3] Museo Nazionale Romano, no. 77255. See: R. Paribeni, in *NSc*, (1919), pp. 106-112, and pl. on p. 107; H. Gressmann, in *Der Alte Orient*, XXIII, 3,

Nazionale at Rome (fig. 20). The scene represented is definitely Roman. It is framed on each side (the right one only survives) by Egyptianizing telamones of the Tivoli type (nos. 101-102), which are a purely Roman creation. The centre of the relief represents a ritual dance[1] performed in front of divinities seated under a portico and in different chapels. On the right-hand side of the portico, there is a bearded god in a square shrine. Beside it, between two palm trees, a round building shelters a female figure standing in a stiff position, with her arms falling along her body. In the open air, near the portico, there is a statue of the Apis bull. The portico itself is divided into seven chapels. In the central one there is a stiff female seated statue; on either side, a Bes[2] sits between two baboons, each in its own little chapel. On the top of the portico there are strange birds, dove-like, standing along the cornice. Under the dancers a frieze of ibises recalls the importance of those birds in the Roman concept of Egypt.

The second fragment, much smaller, now in Berlin (Äg. Mus. no. 16777)[3] (fig. 21), shows a similar portico, and might have been part of the same series of reliefs. Near the portico there is also a palm tree shadowing an Apis statue. The statues under the portico are difficult to identify. There is an Asiatic bearded seated sphinx, and,

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(1923), p. 27, pl. I; H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionschichte,* (1924-1934), 9-11, no. 17; R. Paribeni, *Le terme di Diocleziano e il Museo nazionale romano,* (1932), no. 103; F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain,* (1929), p. VIII, 2, and p. 243, note 96; A. Hermann, in *Jahrbuch fur Antike und Christentum,* III, (1960), p. 39, pl. I a (says "in Museo Capitolino"); H. Wild, *Les danses sacrées de l'Egypte ancienne,* (1963), p. 78; J. Leclant, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* XXVI, 1-2, (1969), p. 68.

[1] The dancers are steatopygous negro women. On their left there is a little man with negroid features. See: F. M. Snowden, in *L'antiquité classique,* XXV, (1956), 1, p. 115.

[2] Bes was more or less linked to the Apis cult. See: A. Mariette, G. Maspero, *Le Serapeum de Memphis,* (1882), I, p. 17, note 2. About a Bes found in the temple of Nectanebo I in the Serapeum of Memphis, Mariette writes:

> "Les statuettes le montrent, en effet, la tête surmontée d'un édicule au centre duquel apparait une figure de taureau divinisé de Memphis." "La filiation n'est peut-être pas si obscure qu'on pourrait le croire. Si Bes, le dieu antique du pays de Pount et des autres contrées de l'Orient, est le prototype de Bacchus (Dionysos), l'identité d'Apis et de Dionysos (Osiris) suffit à expliquer les points de contact que nous remarquons entre les deux divinités."

[3] A. Erman, *Die Religion der Aegypter,* (1909), p. 268; H. Haas, op. cit., pp. 9-11, no. 18; A. Hermann, op. cit., p. 39, fig. 8; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religion in der Umwelt des Christentums,* (1929), no. 18.

according to Hermann, a Thoth-Hermes on a pedestal[1]; this is more plausibly seen as a herm, the pedestal of which would be wrapped in a cloth, leaving only the head free[2].

Together, the Ariccia and Berlin reliefs represent the Roman equivalent of the scene which was mentioned in connection with the Serapeum of Memphis: some ritual dances on a dromos, in front of side-chapels and statues of divinities in mixed Hellenistic and Egyptian style. As there was no other temple in Latium large enough to have had such a dromos and side buildings, we can only conclude that the two reliefs allude to ceremonies in the Iseum Campense.

The fact that the portico sheltered baboons is confirmed by the discovery of a pair of them in 1883, with one of the great columns already mentioned, along the western wall of the Iseum courtyard, in the Casa Tranquilli (nos. 243-244). We also know of an Apis bull (no. 242)[3].

A dromos must have run along the middle of the courtyard towards the entrance of the Isis temple. It was bordered with pairs of lions, sphinxes, and small obelisks, a late reminder of the original Egyptian dromos bordered with sphinxes. The avenues of sphinxes, before and between temples, were an innovation of the New Kingdom in Egypt[4]. The formula was extensively used in the Late Period and, in Roman times, the most famous of avenues of sphinxes must have been that leading to the Serapeum of Memphis. The sphinxes could also alternate with lions[5] along dromos of Ptolemaic and Roman temples, as they do along the dromos leading from the temple of Nectanebo I to the Serapeum at Memphis (fig. 349), or along the dromos of Medinet Madi[6]. This type of dromos was imitated in Europe, mainly at Delos[1], Beneventum[2] and Rome. In the Iseum Campense, as well as the usual sphinxes and lions, there were small obelisks along the avenue. Those monuments were located along the way from what is now the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva (where the latest discoveries were made) to near the Via del Seminario, on the grounds of the actual convent of the Dominicans (the site of the earliest discoveries). Thus, one was led to the temple of Isis, which must have stood at the north end of the dromos.

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[1] F. W. v. Bissing, in *Der Alte Orient*, XXXIV, (1936), pl. 6, fig. 13, and pp. 24-28.

[2] Though very lively, these reliefs are poorly executed.

[3] See also the three Apis bulls of the Iseum of Beneventum, two of which are now in the Museo del Sannio of the same city, nos. 270, 280; the third one is standing in the Viale S. Lorenzo at Benevento.

[4] On the sphinx in ancient Egypt, see: U. Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Ägypten*, (1948); A. Dessenne, *Le sphinx : étude iconographique*, I, *des origines à la fin du second millénaire*, (1957).

[5] On the lion in ancient Egypt, see: U. Schweitzer, op. cit.; C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Egypte ancienne*, (1951).

[6] A. Vogliano, *Primo rapporto degli scavi..nella zona di Medinet Madi*, (1936), pl. I-III; idem, *Secondo rapporto..* (1937), plan at the end of the volume.

This temple can be reconstructed from coins showing the facade of a temple of Isis which Dressel[3] identifies with the Iseum Campense. The coins are of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79), i.e. earlier than the destruction of A.D. 80, and therefore show the Iseum as it was before its restoration and reconstruction (fig. 22). Unless it was completely re-planned under Domitian, which is unlikely, it is probable that the late Iseum had the same characteristics as its predecessor[4], and was a building of the same type as most Iseums of the Hellenistic and Roman period, both in and outside Egypt.

Typical of these Iseums was the small one at Alexandria in the Serapeum, probably built under Ptolemy III[5] (fig. 23). Its plan follows the pattern of Greek funerary temples of the necropolis of Hermopolis Magna[6]. It was prostyle tetrastyle, and built on a raised platform. This Alexandrian design for small sanctuaries had been used inside the precinct of the great Egyptian temples. At Luxor, a small Serapeum was built under Hadrian[1]. It was peripteral with four columns in its facade, and the whole structure was of bricks covered with stucco. Above the entrance, there was an architrave with the sun-disc and the double uraei, and the characteristic Egyptian curved cornice. In the axis of the entrance, at the end of the cella, there stood a Hellenistic Isis, and, at her feet, there was an Osiris Canopus on a pedestal. The style of this facade, and the perspective opening onto a standing Hellenistic Isis, find their equivalent in the facade of the Iseum Campense, as it is shown on the Berlin coin. Another example of a similar building can be seen on the mosaic of Palestrina: this little Hellenistic temple, on a platform, with four columns in its facade, a rounded pediment, and framed by a pair of obelisks, can also give a good idea, on a reduced scale, of the sanctuary of the Iseum Campense, standing at the end of a dromos lined with obelisks.

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[1] P. Roussel, op. cit., pl. III. The dromos of the Delos Serapeum was also situated in the courtyard surrounded with the portico; along the dromos, sphinxes alternated with altars to different divinities.

[2] H. W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent,* (1969).

[3] H. Dressel, in *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften,* (1909), pp. 640-648, pl. IV; W. Weber, in *Sitzungsberichte d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissenschaften,* (1910), VII, pp. 10-13, fig. 4. There are few coins of this type, and the one which we reproduce here is now in Berlin, Münzkabinet, coll. Martinelli, no. 1748; J. Leipoldt- K. Regling, "Archäologisches zu Isisreligion", in *ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ*, I, (1925) fig. 126 f. pl. 5, fig. 1; A. Toynbee, *The Crucible of Christianity,* (1969), p. 239.

[4] Dio Cassius, LXVI, 24, mentions the fire which destroyed the first Iseum; further (LXXX, 10, (1-2)), he describes the pediment of the façade of the second Iseum, where Isis can be seen riding a dog, as on the previous temple (transl. E. Cary, (1955), VIII, p. 309, and IX, p. 459).

[5] A. Rowe-E. Drioton, *Discovery of the Famous Temple.. of Serapis at Alexandria,* (*Annales du Service,* Suppl. II), (1946); A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto greco-romano,* (1961-1966), (series C), I, pp. 90-100, no. 55; pp. 240-242; and II, pl. 29 and 30, fig. 108. Its plan is very similar to that of the Iseum of Pompeii: Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi,* pl. I, fig. 1 (our fig. 24).

[6] S. Gabra, in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte,* XXXIX, (1939), p. 484, pl. LXXVII; idem, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupolis Ouest,* (1941), pp. 65-66, pl. II (2), XXIX, XXX (1).

Though bigger than the small shrines to Isis of the Hellenistic world, the temple of the Iseum Campense was, like them, built in the prostyle tetrastyle type, and raised on a platform. Five steps flanked by low walls led to the pronaos of the sanctuary. At the bottom of the steps stood a pair of low figures, one on each wall (recumbent sphinxes as in the temple of Nectanebo I at Memphis, or recumbent lions, or baboons). At the top of the steps, on either side of the entrance of the temple, there were two symmetrical pseudo-Egyptian standing statues, with the double crown. The facade comprised four columns with what seem to be Corinthian capitals. Above them there was an architrave, with a solar disc and uraei, supporting a heavy semi-circular pediment[2]. On the tympanum, Isis-Sothis was riding a dog among six stars[3]. Above the pediment, three falcons with the double crown stood as acroteria. Behind the front columns opened the door of the sanctuary. Above the door a double lintel was carved with a winged solar disc (see a similar motif on the niche pediments, nos. 22-23) and a frieze of uraei (see similar frieze, no. 21).

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[1] J. Leclant, in *Orientalia*, XX, (1951), pp. 455-456, pl. 45-47; ibidem, XXX, (1961), p. 183, pl. 36-37. A late example of the same formula is found in Egypt at Ras es-Soda with a small private Iseum built by a rich Alexandrian in the second half of the second century A.D. The temple is prostyle, tetrastyle, built on a platform, with steps. The small cella contained the statues of the cult, including an Isis and two Osiris Canopus. See: A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, (1935-1939), pp. 136-148, pl. 50-59.

[2] P. Gilbert, in *Chronique d'Egypte*, XVII, (1942), pp. 83-90.

[3] Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, p. 226 and p. 290, no. 93; V. Wessetsky, *Die ägyptischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn*, (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, I), (1961), pl. III. Isis-Sothis is represented on the frieze which crowns the pronaos of the Iseum of Szombathely (the

Inside the temple stood a great Hellenistic statue of Isis, presumably on a bench or a pedestal at the back of the cella with her usual attributes (sistrum and situla)[1]. It seems that few Egyptian statues of Isis stood inside the Roman temples dedicated to this goddess. In Egypt itself (Serapeum of Luxor, Iseum of Ras es-Soda) the goddess that stood in the sanctuary was Hellenistic. In Italy, there are very few examples of Egyptian statues of Isis known for certain to have come from the great Iseums of Beneventum and Rome. Yet, both those sanctuaries were full of Egyptian statues of some other kind. Collections of Roman statuary throughout the world possess many such Hellenistic Isis[2] as the one which stood at the top of the stairs of the Iseum Campense. Isis as a cult figure seems to have been almost exclusively Hellenistic in Roman times, and was often worshipped with other divinities such as Osiris Canopus (nos. 144-148, specially 145).

The Iseum Campense and its cult survived at least until the end of the 4th century, though the obelisk of Domitian (no. 72) was removed under Maxentius. The destruction caused by the Goths in A.D. 410 was mainly centred on the Pincio and the rich Aventine. The Iseum, no longer used, stood nevertheless more or less intact for several centuries. Its slow destruction—haphazard removal of its marble for other buildings—presumably started soon after the disappearance of the Egyptian cults in Rome and the abandonment of the sanctuary. In the 6th century the statues of the dromos were pulled down[3]. In 610, a fragment of a cornice (no. 28) of the Iseum was used for a restoration of the Pantheon recently converted into a Christian church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was perhaps around that time that the two large Nectanebo I lions (nos. 273-274) were moved in front of the Pantheon, on either side of a porphyry sarcophagus.

Roman Savaria, in Pannonia): T. Szentléleky, *A Szombathelyi Isis-szentély*, (Savaria Museum 1965), 52 p., 10 fig. (with German version).

[1] Cf. the Naples Isis, for a similar type: A. de Franciscis, *Il museo nazionale di Napoli*, (1963), pl. C.

[2] Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 274-280.

[3] R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 58.

The Iseum, though stripped of some marble, was nevertheless still standing when, in 1084, Normans and Saracens invaded the city, attacking from the Porta del Popolo. On their way they set the Campus Martius on fire. Most of the obelisks of the site, of the Sundial, and of the Iseum, were then overturned. When, centuries later, the Sundial obelisk (no. 83) was excavated, the diggers noticed that it lay broken, with the upper fragments intact, while the base of the shaft bore traces of hammering and burning. The pedestal was untouched, apparently because of the protection of the thick layer of soil already accumulated around it at the time of the catastrophe. The obelisk itself was resting on the same layer of rubbish, half-way between the classical and the modern level of the city[1]. The same observations were made about the Dogali obelisk[2] (no. 76), though, because of its small size, it was not injured when pulled down. It can be assumed, then, that the Campus Martius and the Iseum were devastated around the 10th or 11th century, almost certainly by the Normans in 1084[3].

Long before the sack, life had been made very difficult on the hills, because of shortage of water, caused by deficiencies in the aqueducts. After the Norman sack, life became impossible on the Roman hills, and the population gathered on the Campus Martius, where the digging of wells was easy, and where an adequate quantity of building material could be found among the ruins. The old Iseum must have been plundered for the construction of the nearby medieval houses.

Fifty years after the sack, twenty-eight columns of brown granite with classical capitals showing heads of Serapis, Isis and Harpocrates, said to come from the Iseum Campense, were removed to the new basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere, rebuilt in 1139 by Innocent II[4]. The Egyptian symbols were knocked off when the nave of the church was restored in 1870. Throughout the Middle Ages a famous kiln of limeburners, called "La Pigna", used material from the Baths of Agrippa and from the Iseum, while marble-cutters removed stones for other purposes. In the 13th century, the upper part of a small obelisk (no. 73) of the ancient dromos of the Iseum Campense was taken away to be re-erected on a new shaft on the Capitol by the famous marble-cutters of the time, the Cosmati. Meanwhile, on the site of the Iseum, the monks of S. Maria sopra Minerva built their monastery, using or covering the Roman ruins. In 1447, Poggio Bracciolini mentions part of a portico with many columns either lying on the ground, or half buried under the ruins of the temple. Some of these columns were removed in December 1451 to the loggia of the Benedictions at St. Peter's. Two strangely shaped columns of grey granite[1], about 4.50 m. high, stand in the second courtyard of the palazzo Massimo alle Colonne at Rome (fig. 25). They are said to come from the Iseum Campense[2]. They might be the same ones which were discovered in the Iseum in 1451-1452 and moved away[3].

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[1] R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, (1899), pp. 160-173.

[2] R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 58.

[3] F. Vacca, in Fea, *Miscell.*, no. 27, reports that, in his time, a part of the temple was discovered with columns still standing. But, when it was tried to move them away, they collapsed into bits, having been ravaged by fire. Later, in 1662, Cassiano dal Pozzo saw the pavement of a chapel spoilt by fire. See: Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 217 and 221.

[4] A. Nibby, *Roma antica*, (1818-1820), II, p. 674; A. L. Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, (1908), p. 409; R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), pp. 35 and 56. Lanciani has some doubts about the exact origin of these columns, but admits that the number and the size of the columns,

The excavations on the site of the Iseum had already begun a long time before Clement VII, in 1595, purchased marbles of the Iseum from the monks of the Minerva, for the renovation of the transept of S. Giovanni in Laterano (nave Clementina), and the remains of the "Arco di Camigliano", from the nuns of S. Maria. Systematic destruction went hand in hand with discovery, until the 19th century, when the spectacular excavations of the Casa Silvestrelli and the Casa Tranquilli aroused archaelogists' interest in the Iseum Campense (fig. 26).

The following is a list of Egyptian and Egyptianizing antiquities from the Iseum Campense, with their number in the catalogue below:

Nos.	Object
Architecture :	
4-5	Antefixes
9-15	Vegetal capitals
16-20	Columns
21	Frieze

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together with the very peculiar style of their capitals and of the cornice matching them, characteristic of Domitian's and Caracalla's reign, would confirm Nibby's assumption.

[1] S. Clarke-R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry,* (1930), mentions polygonal columns with the same peculiar flat facets, pp. 137-139.

[2] *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano. Roma e dintorni,* (1965), p. 225.

[3] Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi,* I, p. 54.

Nos.	Object
22-23	Pediments
25-34	Reliefs
Obelisks:	
72	single obelisk of the courtyard
73-78	obelisks of the dromos
79-80	unexcavated obelisks
Anthropomorphic sculpture:	
Gods:	
113	Horus
115-116	Isis
145	Osiris Canopus
150	Sekhmet
Kings and Queens	
154a-b	Pharaohs
Private Individuals	
191-192	Naophori
216	Stelophorus
Various:	
221-223	Statues
Zoomorphic sculpture:	
242	Apis bull
243-247	Baboons
254	Crocodile
266	Hathor cow
268-274	Lions
277-280	Sphinxes
Various:	
314	Canopic jar
317	Cippus
320	Stela
327-330	Vases

The Iseum in Regio III

In the last years of the Roman Empire and throughout the Middle Ages, the third "regio" covering the Oppian hill was named "Isis et Serapis" after a great temple of unknown date which stood on its south-east slope[1]. It was the second great Iseum of Rome. Already in the 4th century A.D., its statues must have been scattered or destroyed, but the temple remained identifiable until the 17th century, when it was excavated in 1653. "An Egyptian temple has been discovered near the church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, the figures of which were drawn by order of Cassiano dal Pozzo"[1]. "Remarkable pictures copying Egyptian style, but very damaged by damp, have been discovered together with stuccoes some of which were removed by Cassiano dal Pozzo"[2].

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[1] On the Iseum in general see: Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 360; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 204-210. More particularly, for Isiac documents of "Regio III" and its Iseum: *C.I.L.*, VI, 2234, 2245, 13454, 19151, 32462, 30915,

Nothing has survived of this great structure, except a fragment of relief (nos. 35-36). There seem to have been mostly Hellenistic statues. A few Egyptian statues are known for certain as having belonged to the temple (nos. 155, 182, 267, 275, 276). Among them a Hathor Cow (no. 267) has been identified by Lanciani[3] as an exact copy of the one which stood in the Iseum (no. 266):

> "In 1884 ... I was shown a beautiful piece of purplish granite, with oval spots resembling in shape and colour those of a leopard's skin, which had just been discovered under the Hickson Field palace, on the via Merulana... Two years later, when the convent of the Cluny sisters was being built, at a distance of six hundred feet from the Field palace, what should be brought to light but the missing portions of that very work of art! It was a beautiful and nearly perfect replica of the sacred cow, Hathor—the symbol of Isis—seemingly copied from the original, discovered in 1884 among the ruins of the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius."

If this cow was really a Roman replica of that in the Iseum Campense[4] it would be an indication that the Iseum in Regio III, on the Oppian hill, was perhaps enlarged, or even built after the rebuilding of the Iseum Campense, possibly in the 2nd century A.D. The two lions (nos. 275-276) which lay near S. Giovanni in Laterano until the 16th century might also have come from the Iseum in Regio III.

37171; G. Gatti, in *NSc*, (1887), p. 140; ibidem, (1888), p. 626; C. L. Visconti, in *Bull. Com.*, XV, (1887), pp. 132-136; C. Hülsen, in *Röm. Mitt.*, IV, (1889), pp. 279-280; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, (2nd ed. 1912), p. 355; F. Clementi, *Rome impériale*, I, (1935), pp. 96-111.

[1] Fea, *Miscell.*, I, p. 222 (Pietro Sante Bartoli, *Memorie*, 2).

[2] G. Lunadoro, *Delle vestigi delle pitture antiche del buon secolo dei Romani*, in G. Leti, *Relatione della corte di Roma*, (1964), p. 62.

[3] R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, (1901), pp. 43-44.

[4] See, however: H. W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent*, (1969), p. 86.

The Iseum on the Capitol

A third important sanctuary to the Egyptian goddess had been erected in the Capitoline area. On the Capitol, in 65 B.C., there stood already an altar dedicated to Isis. The Senate ordered its destruction, but it was soon rebuilt[1]. By Imperial times it was certainly an important place of worship. Suetonius[2] tells how the Emperor Domitian took refuge on the Capitol during the civil war and managed to escape disguised as an Isiac priest. Tertullian[3] mentions the actual sanctuary. Inscriptions found on the site confirm the classical texts. Smetius saw an Isiac inscription near the Aracoeli church[4], and other inscriptions are known concerning priests of Isis Capitolina[5]. From such indications it seems that a fairly large chapel stood on or by the hill.

There are several archaeological remains of the building[6] which followed the usual Hellenistic type with Egyptianizing decoration (no. 6). Inside the sanctuary there were some Egyptian statues, imitations (nos. 188, 218) or genuine pieces (no. 209). No foundation of the temple has been discovered; for its location we must rely on the information given by Smetius' inscription found near S. Maria in Aracoeli. As other pieces belonging to the temple have been found scattered between the south-east slope of the Capitol and the Bocca della Verità, it could be that the Capitoline Iseum stood somewhere south of the hill, between S. Maria in Aracoeli and the Via della Consolazione.

The other Iseums

Smaller shrines were dedicated to Isis in other parts of Rome. There was one on the Caelian[7], where a marble bark, presumably an ex-voto, was found (it is a 16th century copy that stands now in front of the Church della Navicella)[1].

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[1] Dio Cassius mentions the destruction of an Isiac shrine on the Capitol, in 48 B.C. (XLII, 26, (1-2); transl. E. Cary, (1954), IV, p. 155).

[2] Suetonius, *Domitianus*, I, 2 (transl. J. C. Rolfe, (1950), II, p. 341).

[3] *Ad Nationes*, I, X, 17; *Apolog.*, 6.

[4] *C.I.L.*, VI, 351.

[5] *C.I.L.*, I, 1034; VI, 224; VI, 2248.

[6] Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 45, 60, 216; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, III, p. 83; Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, (1929), p. 286; G. Lugli, *Roma antica*, (1946), p. 43; K. Parlasca, in *MdI*, LXXI, (1964), pp. 204-205.

[7] Mentioned by Trebellius Pollio; see: H. Bardon, *Le crépuscule des Césars*, (1964), pp. 225-226.

On the Esquiline there was at least an altar to the Patrician Isis, with whom the objects found in the area are certainly connected (nos. 114, 190, 219, 216) in particular the fragment of an Osiris Canopus (no. 144b)[2].

There was also a sanctuary to Isis on the Aventine[3], under the present convent of S. Sabina. The presence of foreign colonies on the hill, and on the nearby Emporium (no. 117) probably explains the foundation in the 1st century A.D. of this small Iseum[4]. It was enlarged in the 2nd century. It seems to have been used mainly by members of the lower class of society, particularly Greek and slaves. Paintings of Hellenistic style represent Isis in a niche with other symbolic decorations. Stucco fragments of a representation of the *navigium Isidis* have also been found on the site. In the third century, the sanctuary was replaced by a thermal building.

The harbour of Rome, as all Mediterranean ports, was a centre for the Isiac cults. There was a special devotion to the Alexandrian gods among the merchants and sailors of Ostia[5]. A small Serapeum, dedicated in A.D. 127 by Hadrian, is still visible. It is an elegant building richly decorated with mosaics (Nilotic landscape)[6]. It was probably reduced to its present size when the cult began to decline in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries A.D. Many Hellenistic statues have been found on the site, and two Egyptian ones (nos. 215, 217) had been brought there, presumably to create, as elsewhere, the appropriate atmosphere. Several inscriptions mention an independant cult of Isis in the city, but no corresponding building has yet been discovered. It is possible that Isis had been assimilated to Demeter and worshipped with this goddess.

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[1] Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 201-203; C. d'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma,* (1962), p. 176, pl. 146-150; *Guida d'Italia del T.C.I., Roma e dintorni,* (1965), pp. 377-378.

[2] Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 210-211.

[3] *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres,* (1945), pp. 396-399; D. Darsy, in *Rend. Atti Pont. Accad. rom.*, XXI, (1945-46), pp. 8-9; M. J. Vermaseren, *De Mithrasdienst in Rome,* (1951), p. 103, note 32.

[4] G. La Piana, in *Harvard Theological Review,* XX, (1927), pp. 213-215; M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine,* (1965), p. 117.

[5] L. Paschetto, in *Diss. Atti Pont. Accad. rom.*, series II, vol. X, (1912), pp. 165-167; L. Ross Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia,* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, XI), (1912), p. 66 f.; H. Schaal, *Ostia, der Welthafen Roms,* (1957), p. 145 f.; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia,* (1960), pp. 366-370; Squarciapino, *Ostia,* pp. 19-36.

[6] For other Nilotic mosaics in Ostia, see: G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei,* (1961), nos. 33, 74, 108, 213, 289, 290.

Two antefixes (nos. 1-2) with Egyptianizing decor, and a naophorus (no. 187) have been found in Ostia and might come from this possible temple to Demeter-Isis. Other minor objects such as a Bes statuette or a bark-shaped lamp must have belonged to private houses[1].

Not far from Ostia, some miles north, at Porto, there was an Iseum[2], which may have dated from the beginning of the Empire —as most Roman Iseums—and have developed during the following centuries. We know nothing of this sanctuary, except that it was restored under Gratianus, probably in 376. An architrave belonging to this temple has recently been found, bearing the following inscription:

"Ddd. nnn. Valens, Gratianus et Valentinianus Augusti aedem ac porticus deae Isidis restitui praeceperunt, curante Sempronio Fausto v.c. praefecto annonae"[3]....

To this Iseum belonged a Corinthian capital in black granite[4] and the famous Bes "trapezophorus", in porphyry, now in the Museo Torlonia (no. 105).

2. THE OTHER TEMPLES

The shrines or temples to Isis alone were not the only places in Rome were Egyptian monuments could be seen. The Alexandrian companions of Isis, such as Serapis or Hermanubis, had their own temples also with Egyptianizing decoration similar in certain respects to that of the Iseums, but on a much smaller scale[5].

In the middle of the 2nd century A.D., the emperor Marcus Aurelius had a small temple to Hermes built in Rome.[6] It was dedicated less to the purely Greek and Roman Hermes-Mercury than to the Egyptian Hermanubis. Contemporary coins show the facade of the building, which was more a shelter of the god's image than a fully-fledged sanctuary. The god's statue (on one of the coins what seems to be an authentic dog-headed Hermanubis can just be made out) stood on a small platform, four steps high. It was sheltered simply by a roof resting on columns. The facade shows a semi-circular pediment resting immediately on curiously shaped columns without architrave. On the coins, they look like Osirid pillars, very similar to the Osirid statues which adorn the pylon of the Egyptian temple of the mosaic of Palestrina. Nothing has been found of this temple[1].

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[1] Squarciapino, *Ostia*, pp. 32 and 33 (note 3) and frontispiece.

[2] R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Inst.*, (1868), pp. 227-237

[3] The architrave is now in Rome, Museo Nazionale. See: M. Borda, in *Fasti archeologici*, XII, (1959), p. 494, no. 8108; A. Chastagnol, in *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1967, pp. 47-55; idem, in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, II, 1968, (coll. "Latomus", CII).

[4] Now in the Museo Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 13.

[5] J. Černy, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, (1952), p. 141

[6] W. Weber, in *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, VII, (1910), pp. 3-10, pl. 1, 2, 3.

At the beginning of the third century A.D., Caracalla built a large Serapeum on the Quirinal[2]. The pharaoh-naophorus (no. 158) found in the area had probably been imported from Egypt as an indispensable decorative element of the Alexandrian cult setting like the statue (no. 224) found there in 1573. The destruction of the temple began when Justinian carried away its porphyry pillars to be used in S. Sofia at Constantinople. In the Renaissance, the Palazzo Colonna, the Palazzo Farnese, the Villa Giulia, and many other monuments of Rome shared its last marbles.

At the height of her fame, Isis was often looked upon as the Great Goddess, the unique power with infinite forms and names. Among other assimilations, Isis was mainly linked with cosmic divinities and to Fortuna. Serapis had been solarised almost from the beginning and fused in the 3rd century A.D. with other solar deities. His wife, Isis, crowned with horns, was regarded as Isis-Luna, crowned with a crescent moon. As such, Serapis and Isis were associated with Jupiter Dolichenus[3]. This analogy stems from their common character as universal gods. Jupiter Dolichenus stood on ground prepared by traditional theology and took advantage of propaganda centred on gods like Serapis and Isis, long since settled in the West as universal deities. The relationship is clearly indicated on Hellenistic reliefs found on the site of a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine[4], between S. Alexis and S. Sabina. It had been used since the end of the 2nd century A.D., but its great period had been under the Severi. Because of the Severan enthusiasm for the Alexandrian cults and perhaps also because there was an Iseum next door, it is not surprising to find among the remains of the Aventine temple some Egyptianizing statues (nos. 201-202) and architectural remains (no. 3).

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[1] No. 28 could have belonged to this building.

[2] Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, p. 211, 215. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, pp. 430-434, XXXI. Nash, *Top. Dict.*, II, pp. 376-378.

[3] P. Merlat, in *Revue archéologique*, XXII, (1947), pp. 10-31, figs. 1, 2; idem, *Jupiter Dolichenus*, (1960), p. 124.

[4] A. M. Colini, in *Bull. Com.*, (1935), p. 145 f.; P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, (1951), pp.

On the site of a 4th century sanctuary dedicated to the Heliopolitan triad, on the Janiculum, there has been found a statue of a pharaoh[1]. The sanctuary, which was already a place of worship in the 2nd century, essentially dedicated to Hadad of Heliopolis, was enlarged in the 3rd century and rebuilt in the 4th, when it sheltered the cult of the Heliopolitan triad. In the last building, there were two chapels for the cult, and a third room, octagonal in shape, which seems to have been used for mysteries. Several statues were discovered in this room, among them a curious bronze statuette, buried in an altar, a statue of a standing pharaoh, and a statue of Dionysus. Dionysus was assimilated to the Heliopolitan god-son, and was a divinity of resurrection. The two other statues appears also to be linked with the idea of resurrection. The bronze statuette shows a youth wrapped in a cloth like a mummy, and inside the seven coils of a snake. It is a representation of Adonis, the son-god, the third in the Heliopolitan triad, assimilated to Mercury, god of youth, of vegetation, dead and born every year; as such it has also the aspect of Osiris, the Egyptian god of resurrection and vegetation—like Dionysus. This link between the Heliopolitan son-god and Osiris is stressed by the presence, in a niche in front of the altar where was the bronze statuette, of a standing pharaoh (no. 156) intended without any doubt to be the living equivalent to the buried Osiris. Thus we find in the 4th century, another example of this search towards a single god, or a single notion of divinity through its many forms: Adonis-Dionysus, worshipped on the Janiculum as Osiris, the god of resurrection.

As Fortuna[2], Isis is found in several temples, in and around Rome. The representation of Isis-Fortuna was among the most popular in

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166-168 (no. 185), pp. 202-205 (no. 206); idem, *Jupiter Dolichenus*, (1960), pp. 147-152, pl. III.

[1] P. Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule*, (1912), pp. 187-190; G. Darier, *Les fouilles du Janicule*, (1920); B. M. Felleti Maj, in *Bull. Com.*, LXXV, 1953-1955 (1956), pp. 137-162.

[2] Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 78-81.

the Roman Empire, and, in most Iseums, such images must have been common. Isis was given the attributes of Tyche, and the sanctuaries of Fortuna herself were given symbols of her relationship with the Egyptian goddess.

In Rome, in the imperial gardens, on the right bank of the Tiber, along the Via Portuensis, there was a temple to Fortuna, enlarged at Hadrian's time. Together with Fortuna, the Syrian and Oriental gods appear to have been worshipped in this sanctuary. A water-clock (no. 326) has been found on the site.

The Egyptian connexions of Fortuna were also stressed under Hadrian, who built Antinous' cenotaph and erected an obelisk[1] inside the precinct of one of the Roman sanctuaries of Fortuna.

3. The Pyramids

We know for certain that there were at least two pyramidal tombs in Rome during the Empire. The smaller one, the pyramid of Cestius, still extant, was built in about 12 B.C., in the reign of Augustus. The other one, well known but destroyed in the 16th century, stood in the Vatican necropolis, an area where other Egyptianizing funerary decor has been found[2]. Both these pyramids had been built according to the pattern of later Egyptian and Meroitic pyramidal tombs. Both were small and sharply pointed.

Small pointed pyramids had first appeared in Egypt[3] in the Middle Kingdom at Abydos. In the New Kingdom, this type of pyramid often topped private tombs, for example at Deir el-Medina, although the kings themselves had abandoned pyramids as burial places. During the later dynasties, and in Ptolemaic and Roman times, until about A.D. 300, pyramidal tombs were erected in the Sudan near Napata and Meroe, for the members of the royal family. Piankhi and his family were buried in the pyramids of El Kurru, near Napata. His son, Taharka, and his family were buried on the other bank of the Nile, at Nuri, also in pyramidal tombs. The last group of pyramids was built further south, near Meroe, as late as the 4th century A.D. All these pyramids follow the same pattern. Their base is between 8 and 14 m. square; the angle of their sloping side is between 65 and 70°; and their height averages between 12 and 20 m. These proportions correspond to those of the pyramid of Cestius (no. 94), and, as far as we can judge from its reproductions, to those of the Vatican pyramid (no. 95)[1].

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[1] Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 161-163.

[2] Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415.

[3] I.E.S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, (1947), pp. 197-204, fig. 20 and pl. 31; A. Fakhry, *The Pyramids*, (1961), pp. 234-239, figs. 118 and 123.

The Roman pyramidal tombs are closely akin to the Sudanese tombs in profile and size. But Romans were more likely to have visited Thebes than Meroe and its area. It is possible that the Roman pyramids were inspired from those at the Deir el-Medina, though it is not certain that the necropolis was well enough preserved in Roman times to allow any imitation.

4. The Obelisks

Obelisks and circuses

The erection of obelisks in circuses[2] by Roman emperors was both a religious and a political act. The original connection of the obelisks with the sun and the Heliopolitan theology had not been forgotten by Augustus when he had the obelisk of Sethos I (no. 69) erected on the spina of the Circus Maximus. The Circus Maximus had always been a religious institution, connected with the sun-cult. The course of the chariots around the spina was compared to the movement of the heavenly bodies around the sun[3]. This solar symbolism was stressed by the usual Roman decoration of obelisks: a gilded bronze ball surmounted by a pointer was stuck at the top of the pyramidion[4]. As a political monument the obelisk erected in the circus was an impressive symbol of the ruler's power. The inscription on the base was a prominent feature and was carefully carved on the sides opposite the main stands of the circus, to be read by the spectators. When there was hostility between two successive emperors, Tiberius and Caligula, the obelisk erected by Caligula in the Circus Gai et Neronis (no. 68) was turned so that Tiberius' inscription, dating from the time when the obelisk was in Alexandria, could no longer be read by the spectators.

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[1] On the suvival of the Egyptian pyramid in the West, and on the Roman imitations, see: A. Hermann, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, VII, (1964), pp. 119-135.

[2] E. Nash, in *MdI.*, LXIV, (1957), pp. 232-259.

[3] Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, VII.

[4] On the problem of the decor of the top of obelisks in Egypt, see B. H. Stricker, in *Oud. Med.*, XXXIV, (1953), pp. 32-47.

Augustus had erected the obelisk of the Circus Maximus in 10 B.C., and this became a practice until late in the Roman Empire. At the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., Varianus moved the Hadrianic obelisk dedicated to Antinous to his own circus, near the Via Labicana (no. 86). At the beginning of the 4th century, Domitian's obelisk (no. 72) was removed from the Iseum Campense and erected in the Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia. In about A.D. 337, Constantine had two obelisks moved to Alexandria, with the obvious intention of bringing them to Europe. He died before executing his plans. But Constantius had one of the obelisks taken to Rome in 357 (no. 70) and erected in the Circus Maximus, beside Augustus', on the spina. Theodosius had the second obelisk taken to Constantinople in about 390 and erected in the hippodrome[1]. At Arles, in Gaul, an obelisk was cut in local granite and erected in the circus of the city[2].

The gnomon obelisk

Together with the obelisk destined for the Circus Maximus, Augustus had another Egyptian monolith taken to Rome, to serve as a gnomon for the sundial of the Campus Martius (no. 83). The monument was built around 10 B.C. and described in detail by Pliny[3]. It had a gilded ball placed on its summit, where "the shadow could be concentrated, for otherwise the shadow cast by the top of the obelisk would have lacked definition". The idea of a colossal sundial seems to have been born in Egypt itself. At the end of the 1st century A.D., Josephus, in his *Contra Apionem,* wrote:

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[1] P. Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* (transl. by J. Ball, 1729), II, chap. XI; Kircher, *Oed. Aeg.*, III, pp. 303-316, and pl. opposite p. 304; Zoega, *Ob.*, pp. 99-91, 619-620; H. H. Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks,* (1885), pp. 124-126, pl. XLII, left; E. H. Freshfield, in *Archaeologia,* LXXII, (1922), pp. 87-104; G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel,* (1935); Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 400; A. W. Byvanck in *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen,* (n.r.), Deel 23, XI, (1960), pp. 311-332.

[2] Zoega, *Ob.*, p. 87 and note 1; E. Wilson, *Cleopatra's Needle,* (1877), pp. 170-172; H. H. Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks,* (1885), p. 141; P. Veran, *Antiquités d'Arles,* p. 173; L. Constans, *Arles antique,* (1921), p. 122; F. Benoit, *Arles,* (1927), p. 61 and fig. p. 62; J. H. Gibert, *Arles,* (1926), p. 55; F. Benoit, in *VII Congres du Rhône,* (1933), pp. 349-352, and 2 figs.

[3] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis,* XXXVI, 72-73 (transl. Eichholz, (1962), pp. 56-59). This passage of Pliny about Augustus 'obelisks at Rome is commented on by M. L. W. Laistner, in *JRS,* XI, (1921), pp. 265-266.

> "... I will briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject. For in the third book of his Aegyptiaca, he speaks as follows. "I have heard from old Egyptians that Moses was a native of Heliopolis and that he ... also set up pillars instead of gnomons[1] under which was represented a figure in relief like a concave sundial..."[2]

Wilson, commenting on Josephus' text, notices that "this seems to have been the first dial that had been made in Egypt and was a little before the time that Ahaz made his dial in Judaea, about 755".

Obelisks and tombs in Rome

At the end of the first century A.D., two obelisks, uninscribed, were set up in front of the facade of Augustus' mausoleum, east and west of its entrance (nos. 81-82). It is very unlikely that the Romans knew of the use of obelisks in Old Kingdom tombs, but the monuments were nevertheless used to decorate this imperial mausoleum and, some years later, between A.D. 130 and 138, an obelisk was erected to the memory of the deceased Antinous, with a hieroglyphic dedication by Hadrian, presumably on the site of Antinous' cenotaph in a temple of Fortuna (no. 86).

5. VILLAS AND GARDENS

Campanian gardens seem to have been the first pleasure gardens in Italy[3]. Set on a small scale, they were nevertheless the model on which the later imperial gardens were to develop. Through the years, the principles of garden decoration did not change in Campania[4]. At Pompeii, there were still small gardens in which the "trompe-l'oeil" played a major part. Small scale statues and walls painted with frescoes widened the space. The mythological landscape was repeatedly used, and for Isiac devotees[1], Nilotic scenes and Egyptianizing motifs or statues were scattered on the walls and among the short bushes of the garden, both for decorative effect and for religious purposes. A good illustration is found in the Casa dei Cubiculi Floreali. The frescoes on the walls of two rooms of this house represent, in a garden, a light portico with lotiform columns, fruit trees, birds, Egyptian statues, framed pictures and various cult instruments[2].

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[1] Zoega, *Ob.*, p. 7, thinks they were obelisks.

[2] C. W. Wilson, *The Works of F. Josephus,* V, (1889), pp. 219-220.

[3] P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains,* (1969), 2nd ed.

[4] G. Masson, *Italian Gardens,* (1966), pp. 14-17.

Perhaps the most famous example of such gardens is that of Loreius Tiburtinus, an Isiac priest at Pompeii. In the grounds of his gardens, nine statuettes of pharaohs and Egyptian divinities have been found, together with a statue of an ibis fighting with a small serpent. There was also a sacellum dedicated to Isis. The whole garden was disposed along a canal called the "Euripus"[3]. (This type of garden has also been found at Kato Paphos in Cyprus)[4].

Stress must be placed on these artificial rivers in gardens. Already in Cicero's time, his friends used to laugh at "Euripus" and "Niles" built in gardens[5]. They were nevertheless the first signs of an effort to re-create Egyptian and Nilotic lanscapes for profane purposes. This tendency was to culminate in Hadrian's Canopus at Tibur (Tivoli).

The same sort of decor, though less impressive, was set in many other houses of Campania, at Herculaneum, Boscotrecase, as well as at Pompeii (Casa di Giuseppe II, Casa di Dioscuri, Casa delle Amazoni, Casa d'Orfeo, Casa di Laocoonte, Villa dei Misteri).

Interest in decorative gardens reached the area of Rome through Campania. In Caesar's time, large gardens became famous (those of Cicero, Hortensius, Lucullus and Varro beside Caesar himself). But the imperial villas surpassed all these creations. They stretched over vast estates and their gardens were worlds of wonder. The owner wandered in a carefully chosen setting, along porticos, through groves, past aviaries, or ponds full of rare fish. The sacred landscape was still a favourite in imperial times:

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[1] Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 41-53; K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeii*, (1962), pp. 197-202.

[2] F. Le Corsu, in *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*, LI, (March 1968), pp. 17-31, ps. III-IV, fig. 1.

[3] Tran-Tam-Tinh, *Isis à Pompéi*, p. 44.

[4] J. Leclant, in *Orientalia*, XXXVII, (1968), p. 128.

[5] Cicero, *De legibus*, II, 1, 2 (transl. C. W. Keyes, (1951), p. 371); Grimal, op. cit., pp. 316-317. On the importance of the Nile as a river, see: G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, (1961), no. 108.

> "Some idea of what these sacred landscape gardens were like can be gathered from Roman paintings, particularly those of Pompeii which show small temples in a landscape of gnarled trees and precipitous rocks, often adorned with statues and flower-garlanded herms. The only example of this type of Roman sacred landscape to have survived is the famous "temple of the Sibyl" above the waterfalls of Tivoli."[1]

As the gardens increased in size, so did the monuments erected in them. There were no longer sacellums but casinos. The Loreius Tiburtinus type of setting got more and more fashionable and developed on a parallel with the spread of Egyptian cults in the Roman Empire.

The "Aula Isiaca"

In the imperial palace on the Palatine, there was already in Augustus' time a small room with Egyptianizing decor, the so-called "Aula Isiaca"[2]. It is a long room, ending in an apse. Half the paintings were destroyed, probably under Nero, when a curved wall was built in the room and parallel to its length. The paintings, though Roman in style and composition, used symbolic Egyptianizing motives: situla, jug, bark, uraei, lotus flower, atef crown, sun-disc, even a male standing representation. Such a decor would indicate some religious use of the "Aula Isiaca"; but Augustus' distrust of oriental cults must be borne in mind. In some other part of the same palace there was built, about sixty years after the "Aula Isiaca", an Egyptianizing building to which the architectural fragments (nos. 7, 37-40) and a statue (no. 157) found on the site of the palace scattered among the ruins could have belonged[1]. The building was perhaps the "Hermaeum" mentioned by Suetonius[2] in which Claudius took refuge when Caligula was murdered. As the Greek name cannot fit a sanctuary dedicated to the Roman Mercury and most probably applies to one of those ‘Ερματα often found in Egypt at Hermopolis or Alexandria, it might be supposed that it was dedicated to Hermes-Thoth[3].

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[1] G. Masson, op. cit., p. 36.

[2] Details in: J. Boni, in *JRS*, (1913), pp. 243-252; F. Cumont, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CXIV, (1936), pp. 127-129; C. Picard, in *Revue archéologique*, (1936), II, p. 213; G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture dell'Aula Isiaca*, (1936); G. Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio. Supplemento*, (1940), p. 113 f.; idem, *Roma antica*, (1946), pp. 494-498 and fig.; H. G. Beyen, in *Studia varia Carolo Gulielmo Vollgraff a discipulis oblata*, (1948), p. 11; K. Schefold, in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, II, (1953), pp. 1096-1102, pl. 89-90; A. Bartoli, in *Rend. Atti Pont. Accad. rom.*, XXIX, (1956-1957), pp. 16-21, and 35-49; P. Grimal, *A la recherche de l'Italie antique*, (1961), pp. 146-147; E. Köberlein, *Caligula und die ägyptischen Kulte*, (1962); W. J. T. Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting*, (1963), pp. 48-50; Helbig, *Führer durch . . in Rom.*, pp. 871, no. 2092.

The Gardens of Sallust

Perhaps in Domitian's reign, or possibly later, in Hadrian's time, an Egyptian pavilion was set up in the Gardens of Sallust on the Pincio at Rome. The gardens had been created by the historian Sallust in 40 B.C.[4] They became imperial property under Tiberius and, from then on, were used as an imperial residence. The Egyptian scenery of the gardens included statues (nos. 153, 179-181, 220) and an obelisk (no. 71). The obelisk, the inscription of which is a clumsy copy of that on the Augustan obelisk (no. 69), might have stood in the centre of the depression in the garden, the so-called "hippodrome". This type of horse-shoe shaped depression was used by Pliny in his Tuscan villa. Nash, on the contrary, says that the obelisk stood on the Pincio, by the Egyptian casino.

The pavilion of the gardens of Sallust was destroyed in 410, when Alaric and his troops invaded Rome by the Porta Salaria. But the obelisk escaped the general ruin and was still standing on the Pincio in the 8th century.

The imperial house on the Aventine: the "Privata Traiani"

Trajan had a house built on the site of S. Prisca in A.D. 95, the garden of which was exactly on the site of the present sports-ground of the monks. In A.D. 202, under Septimius Severus, the house was enlarged, with part of it turned into a Mithraeum[1]. We do not know at which time the Egyptian slab (no. 24) found in the playground of S. Prisca in 1709, was brought to the "Privata Traiani" or what it was used for. It could have been part of an Egyptian setting in the garden of the house, or it could have been linked to the nearby sanctuary of Mithras, as Severus was both a worshipper of Isis and Serapis, and of Mithras[2].

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[1] One could also mention the Hellenistic head found on the site, crowned with a uraeus: A. Bartoli, op. cit.; pp. 43-44, and fig. 15.

[2] Suetonius, *Claudius*, X, 1 (transl. J. C. Rolfe, (1950), II, p. 19).

[3] F. Cumont, op cit. (p. 48, n. 2).

[4] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, pp. 415-421; Nash, *Pict. Dict*, I, pp. 491-499; P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains*, (1969), pp. 129-131.

Hadrian's villa at Tivoli

It is hardly possible to write about the Egyptian monuments of Imperial Rome without mentioning the villa of Hadrian at Tibur (Tivoli) near Rome[3]. The Egyptian pieces which Hadrian had collected for his villa are among the most significant indications of the Roman vision of Egypt in imperial times.

In A.D. 117, Hadrian had been to Egypt and had seen Alexandria, Canopus, and Sais. Back in Rome, he must have considered creating an Egyptianizing decor in the grounds of his villa at Tilbur. The new project was arranged around a canal (a "Euripus") and was intended to suggest the Alexandrian town of Canopus, after which it was named[4]. The Canopus of Tivoli was completed in 134-138 some years after Hadrian's second trip to Egypt, during which Antinous drowned in the Nile.

The setting of the Canopus was intended to evoke both profane and religious Egypt. The classical Nilotic landscape was suggested by some stone crocodiles in the middle of the canal (no. 259), and an elephant in granite[1]. But the Canopus of Hadrian's villa certainly reflected a more religious feeling of the Emperor, who seems to have built a Hellenistic sanctuary to the Nile in Alexandria, in 124 or 135[2]. At one end of the canal, there was a Serapeum, a semicircular sanctuary, the plan of which is very similar to that of the Serapeum Campense (fig. 351). Along the banks of the canal, and in niches of the Serapeum, innumerable Egyptian and Egyptianizing statues were displayed. Most of the statues were fakes in bad taste, recreating the Egypt of "opérette" of which the Romans were so fond.

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[1] M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine,* (1965), pp. 105-117.

[2] Ibidem, pp. 134-135, pl. CIV, CV. A head of Serapis found on the site of the Mithraeum illustrates the relationship between the Mithraic cult and the Alexandrian deities.

[3] P. Ligorio, *Trattato dell' antichità di Tivoli e della villa Hadriana,* Vatican Library, no. 5295; idem, *Libro o vero trattato dell' antichità XXII di P. Ligorio.. Descrittione della superba e magnificentissima villa Tiburtina Hadriana,* Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. Ital. 8529; A. del Re, *Antichità Tiburtine,* (1609); Piranesi, *Pianta delle fabbriche esistente nella villa Adriana,* t. XXIII; Penna; A. Bulgarini, *Notizie storiche antiuqaria statiche,* (1848); L. Sortais, *Le Canope,* (Restauration et mémoire à la bibliotheque des Beaux-Arts, Paris); Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi,* II, p. 108; H. Winnefeld, *Die Villa der Hadrian bei Tivoli,* (1895); Gusman, *Tibur*; S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana,* (1961), pp. 100-133.

[4] On Canopus, see no. 145.

An idea of the general style of the monuments can be gained by considering the Egyptianizing Antinous and Isis figures found on the site. Antinous had been a favourite model for the sculptors of Hadrian's time, reviving the pure Greek 5th century style. Even in his Egyptian form, Antinous kept his Polycleitean features, canon and curves, despite all the rules of Egyptian art.

Of the Isis figures which have survived in Europe from Roman times most come from Hadrian's villa. All have been turned into absurd representations, shining black monstrosities. Even the only genuine Egyptian Isis found on the site has not escaped the general fate. It is the statue restored with a male head (no. 123).

Absurdity reaches its climax with classical patterns adapted in Egyptianizing style: busts of Isis or Antinous (the bust is an unknown form of representation in Egyptian art), herms single faced (no. 171) or double faced (no. 126) and telamones (nos. 101-102)[3].

Tivoli was used as an imperial residence until 222. It was then more or less abandoned for three centuries and, in 534, it was turned into a fort. From then on, the Roman country was regularly devastated by the Barbarians and the imperial villa of Tivoli was forgotten. In the middle of the 15th century, the discovery of a pair of Egyptianizing telamones heralded the inexhaustible series of Egyptian pieces found on the site until the present day.

The following is a list of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing antiquities of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, with their numbers in the catalogue following:

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[1] Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta*, (1870), no. 559; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus*, VI, (1967), p. 88, no. 11.

[2] J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire*, (1955), p. 237.

[3] For that type of style, see also the base of a candlestick now in Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 124. Greek marble: H.: 0,80 m.; W. of base: 0,60 m. Hadrianic creation. Found in Hadrian's villa in 1702, in the Canopus. Decor of Isiac emblems; uraei following the curve of the angles; kneeling Egyptianizing figures at the angles (cf. fig. 324).

Nos.	Object
Architecture	
49-50	Reliefs
Anthropomorphic sculpture:	
Gods:	
96-100	Antinous
101-102	Antinous Telamones
104	Apis
122-134	Isis
139	Min
146-147	Osiris Canopus
149	Ptah
Kings and Queens:	
166-172	Pharaohs
184	Queen
Private Individuals:	
196-198	Naophori
204-206	Offering statues
211-214	Priests
Various:	
232-234	Statues
Zoomorphic sculpture:	
252	Baboon
258-259	Crocodiles
261-262	Falcons
300-308	Sphinxes
Various:	
315	Canopic jar
321-323	Supports
332-333	Vases

Villa "di Cassio"

Near Hadrian's villa, there was the villa "di Cassio", also with an Egyptianizing decor, contemporary to that of Tivoli, but on a much smaller scale, including several statues: three "Osiris" (nos. 141-143), three pharaohs (nos. 163-165) and the omnipresent crocodile (no. 257).

Domitian's villa at Monte Circeo

Domitian's villa on the Baia d'Argento at Monte Circeo must be considered as a similar example of such imperial villas near Rome, with Egyptianizing setting. An Osiris Canopus (no. 144a) and a statue of a pharaoh have been found on the site (no. 152).

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF
THE EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANIZING MONUMENTS
OF IMPERIAL ROME

NOTE

I. The monuments listed in this catalogue have been classified in 9 general entries:
   1. architecture
   2. obelisks
   3. pyramids
   4. anthropomorphic sculpture: gods
   5. anthropomorphic sculpture: kings and queens
   6. anthropomorphic sculpture: private individuals
   7. anthropomorphic sculpture: various
   8. zoomorphic sculpture
   9. various

II. Within each entry, the objects are classified in alphabetical order, e.g.: architecture: antefixes, capitals, columns, etc.

III. Within each of these groups, the objects are classified:
   1. according to their provenance (the objects of unknown provenance being put at the end)
   2. according to their present location when they come from the same site

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ARCHITECTURE

Antefixes

1. ANTEFIX from OSTIA, (?) temple of Demeter-Isis (fig. 27).

Ostia, Museo Ostiense, no. 1369. Marble. H.: 0.25 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Found in 1912 at Ostia.

The antefix is an architectural element used in classical architecture along the edges of a cornice. It is never found in Egyptian architecture. To fit in with the mixed style of the temples of Isis and Serapis, the antefixes were carved with Egyptian elements such as uraei or crowns.

NSc (1912), p. 133, fig. 1; Squarciapino, *Ostia*, p. 36, note 2.

2. ANTEFIX from OSTIA, (?) temple of Demeter-Isis (fig. 28).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 94. Marble. H.: 0.25 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Found at Ostia.

Squarciapino, *Ostia*, p. 36, note 2; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 309, no. 41a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 125, no. 208, pl. LXXXVI.

3. ANTEFIX from ROME, Aventine, temple of Jupiter Dolichenus (fig. 29).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei culti orientali, (cat. Pietrangeli) no. 25. Marble. H.: 0.24 m; W.: 0.29 m. Roman creation with Egyptianizing motif. Two uraei. Found in 1935 in the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine.

A. M. Colini in *Bull. Com.*, (1935), p. 156, fig. 11; A. H. Kan, *Juppiter Dolichenus*, (1943), p. 109, no. 181b; C. Pietrangeli (a cura di...), *Musei Capitolini, I monumenti dei culti orientali*, (1951), p. 41, no. 25; P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, (1951), p. 206, no. 213.

4. ANTEFIX from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 30).

Present whereabouts unknown.

Found by Kircher in the middle of the 17th century among the remains of the "Isiac temple of Rome" and taken to his private museum. Presumably the same one that was drawn by Cassiano dal Pozzo.

Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, Windsor*, no. 8620; Kircher, *Oed. Aeg.*, III, p. 61 and fig., upper register.

5. ANTEFIX from ROME (fig. 31).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 96. Luna marble. H.: 0.30 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 310, no. 42a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 125, no. 209, pl. LXXXVI.

Capitals

6. HATHOR CAPITAL from ROME, Capitol (fig. 32).

Rome, gardens of the Nuovo Museo Capitolino, no. 2854. White marble. H.: 0.495 m; upper diam.: 0.58 m; lower diam.: 0.35 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Found in 1935 in the Via della Consolazione, near the Bocca della Verità.

This capital is an adaptation of the Hathor capital for a classical building: the four heads of the goddess Hathor are framed on each side with some sort of acanthus leaves surmounted by uraei whose heads are now broken but must have corresponded to the usual Corinthian volute which they replaced.

R. Horn, in *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, LI, (1936), col. 471; H. Fuhrmann, ibidem, LV, (1940), col. 459; G. Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio. Supplemento*, (1940), p. 155; E. v. Mercklin, in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, I, (1951), p. 211, pl. 9a; idem, *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, (1962), p. 12, no. 24; K. Parlasca, in *MdI.*, LXXI, (1964), p. 203, pl. 59, no. 4.

7. HATHOR CAPITAL from ROME, Palatine (fig. 33).

Rome, Antiquarium on the Palatine, no. 12499. White marble. H.: 0.44 m; W.: 0.24 m; Th.: 0.11 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

The capital is supposed to crown a "djed" pillar, but the whole composition is truncated and the original elements are obviously misunderstood.

Bartoli, in *Rend. Atti Pontif. Accad. rom.*, XXIX, (1956-57), pp. 44-45, fig. 16; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, II, pp. 863-864, no. 2079.

8. HATHOR CAPITAL from ROME (fig. 34).

Present whereabouts unknown. Marble. H.: 0.29 m; upper diam.: 0.48 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style, damaged.

The capital was in Rome, in the gardens of the Antiquarium comunale, but has been lost since 1933. The adaptation of the

Hathor head to the capital is similar in principle to no. 6 but less skilful.

E. v. Mercklin, in *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, (1925), col. 161-162 and fig. 1; idem, in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, I, (1951), p. 210, pl. 10c; idem, *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, (1962), pp. 12-13, no. 25, pl. 37.

9. VEGETAL CAPITAL from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 35).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no number. White marble. H. max.: 0.53 m; L.: 1.15 m. Roman imitation of a lotus capital. Fragment.

Found in 1858, with one of the columns with Isiac reliefs nos. 17-19, on the site of the Iseum Campense, near the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva. This capital was possibly topping one of these columns.

R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.* (1883), p. 49 f., pl. X; idem, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 504; Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Cap.*, p. 360.

10-14. 5 VEGETAL CAPITALS from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, Museo Etrusco Vaticano (?). Roman imitation of lotus capitals, similar to no. 9.

Found in 1859 in the Via di S. Ignazio, near the house of the Tranquilli, on the site of the Iseum Campense. Lanciani thought that they had been taken to the Museo Etrusco Vaticano, but on a recent visit to this museum I was unable to find the capitals.

Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 504.

15. VEGETAL CAPITAL from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 36).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 68. Luna marble. H.: 0.68 m. Roman imitation of a papyrus capital. Found in 1852 near S. Maria sopra Minerva, with no. 20.

Ann. Inst., XXIV, (1852), p. 348, pl. V; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 312, no. 52; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 125, no. 206, pl. LXXXII.

Columns

16. COLUMN from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 37-38).

Florence, Museo Archeologico, no number. Grey granite. H.: 0.92 m; diam.: 0.92 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style showing an Isiac procession. It belongs to the same group as nos. 17-19.

It was drawn at the beginning of the 17th century by Dal Pozzo, and mentioned by Kircher as standing in the Medici gardens in Rome (fig. 38). It was later taken to the Uffizi in Florence.

Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, B. M.*, pp. 197-198, fig. 6. *Dal Pozzo, Windsor*, no. 8517; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, I, p. 226; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, pl. CXVI, no. 2 (with an erroneous interpretation of the figures); Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. LXXIV, no. 1; J. Colin, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXXVIII, (1920), pp. 279-283, pl. I f.; E. Scamuzzi, in *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, (1945), p. 26, note 9.

17-19. 3 COLUMNS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 39-47).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell' Iseo Campense. Grey granite. H. max.: 4.70 m; diam. at figure level: 1 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style belonging to the same group as no. 16.

Excavated in 1853, 1858 and 1923 near the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

The material and the general profile of the columns are close imitations of Egyptian models. They are of granite and shaped like papyrus columns with their shafts narrowing at the base. But the Isiac figures facing one another in pairs, carved on each column, are only a remote reminder of the decoration of authentic Egyptian columns: neither the iconography nor the style of the carving has parallels in Egyptian art. These four columns belonged to the series which supported the portico of the Iseum courtyard.

R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, XI, (1883), pp. 49, 130-131, pl. X; idem, in *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 504; Mancini, in *NSc*, (1925), p. 237 f., fig. 8; Stuart-Jones, *Museo Cap.*, p. 360, nos. 14-15, pl. 92; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 27 f., pl. 6 f.; Helbig, *Führer durch... in Rom*, II, pp. 42-43, no. 1194 (and bibliography).

20. COLUMN from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 48).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 77. Luna marble. H.: 0.65 m; upper diam.: 0.50 m. Roman imitation of a papyrus column. Found near S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1852, with no. 15.

Ann. Inst., XXIV, (1852), p. 348, pl. V; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 312, no. 52; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 125, no. 207, pl. LXXXII.

Frieze

21. FRIEZE from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 49).

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, no. 16784. White Italian marble.

H.: 0.185 m; W.: 0.74 m. Roman work. Frieze of uraei, crowning a naos.

W. Weber, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* VII, (1910), p. 11, fig. 1 and note 42.

Pediments

22-23. 2 PEDIMENTS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 50-51).

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, nos. 16785, 16786. No. 16785: W.: 0.55 m. No. 16786: H.: 0.27 m; W.: 1.19 m. Roman work in Egyptianizing style. Fragments of rounded pediments with winged sun-disk and uraei which would have crowned niches.

Gilbert believes the rounded pediment is an essentially Egyptian element adapted from shrines and used for the first time in classical architecture, in the 2nd century A.D., by Roman imperial builders. This hypothesis could be confirmed by the apparently extensive use of the rounded pediment in the Iseum Campense, first of all in the main pediment of the facade, and above niches.

W. Weber, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* VII, (1910), p. 13, fig. 2; P. Gilbert, in *Chronique d'Egypte,* XVII, (1942), pp. 83-90.

Reliefs

24. RELIEF from ROME, Aventine (fig. 52).

Bologna, Museo Civico, no. 1870. Black "basalt". H.: 0.88 m; W. 0.97 m.

XXXth Dynasty (Nectanebo I), from a temple in Heliopolis where it served as an intercolumnar slab. Inscribed.

Found on the Aventine in Rome in 1709, on the site of the Privata Traiani, adjacent to the church of S. Prisca.

Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, p. 341, pl. CXXXIX, no. 1; F. de'Ficoroni, *Le vestigia e rarità di Roma antica,* (1744), 11, pl. XL; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 116-117, 133, no. 231; Maspero, *Hist. ancienne,* fig. 772; P. Ducati, *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna,* (1923), p. 59b; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415; W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt,* (1958), pp. 249-250, notes 48, 49; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture,* pp. 91-92; S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell' Italia settentrionale,* (1961), pp. 88-90, no. 69, pl. XXXIX.

25. RELIEF from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, (?) Cloister of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Marble. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Decoration of lotus and papyrus flowers.

C. L. Visconti, in *Bull. Com.,* (1876), p. 98, note 4.

26. RELIEF from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, (?) Museo Barracco. Marble.

Roman imitation. A figure with kilt and corresponding (?) headdress, holding two offering jars. Matz and v. Duhn mention it as being in the Museo Barracco, but none of the catalogues lists it, and on a recent visit to the museum I could not find it.

Bull. Inst., XXVIII, (1856), p. 182; Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke,* III, p. 218, no. 4010.

27. RELIEF from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 53).

Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 52045. Pink and grey granite. H.: 1.31 m; W.: 1.57 m; Th.: 0.40 m.

XXXth Dynasty (Nectanebo II), from the temple of Isis at Behbet el-Hagar built by the two Nectanebos and finished by Ptolemy II (see no. 222). Inscribed. Found in 1858 near S. Maria sopra Minerva. It was once in the courtyard of the Palazzo Galizin at Rome.

Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke,* no. 4002; Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.,* (1883), p. 57; idem, *Ruins and Excav.,* p. 504; G. Farina, in *Ausonia,* IX, (1919), pp. 5-6, no. 2, pl. I; Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt, 1880-1891,* (1936), p. 257; Kienitz, p. 219, no. 33.

28. RELIEF from ROME, (?) Iseum Campense (fig. 54).

Rome, in the pronaos of the Pantheon. Greek marble. H.: 0.75 m; W.: 1.92 m; Th.: 0.66 m.

Roman Corinthian cornice with Egyptianizing motif. Two falcons with some sort of a crown stand on either side of a caduceus.

Found in the Pantheon in 1874, where it had been re-used as a step during the restoration of 610. As the decor stresses the relation between the Egyptian cults and Hermes, it is likely that this cornice comes from a small shrine to Hermanubis erected in the nearby Iseum Campense, perhaps even from the temple to this god erected by Marcus Aurelius, if this was situated in the area of the Iseum Campense.

C.L. Visconti, in *Bull.Com.,* (1876), pp. 92-101, pl. XIV and XV, figs. 3-4; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.,* p. 222; R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome,* (1899), p. 112.

29. (?) Relief from Rome, Iseum Campense.
Present whereabouts unknown. (?) Pharaonic.
Discovered at the same time as the obelisks of S. Macuto/Pantheon (no. 74) and Urbino (no. 77) in 1374, and already lost in the 17th century. Kircher writes:

"Inventa vero et alia statua aegyptiaca exitio opere, quod basso di relievo dicunt, elaborata, dum cloaca ad Collegium Romanum ampliaretur, e regione Palatii novi Principis Pamphilii eruta, quam cum praeterlapso anno, veluti dignum antiquitatis monumentum seposuissem, postea summo meo dolore, denuo intra fossam a Latomis dejectam sepultamque fuisse reseri."

Kircher, *Ob. aeg.*, p. 8.

30. Relief from Rome, Iseum Campense.
Present whereabouts unknown. Marble. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Spurious hieroglyphs.
In Rome in the middle of the 17th century. It was in Kircher's own museum.

Kircher, *Ob. aeg.*, p. 9, fig. D.

31. Relief from Rome, Iseum Campense.
Present whereabouts unknown.
Dal Pozzo, in the 17th century, noted a pavement of stone carved with Egyptian figures and hieroglyphs, damaged and broken, found near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, in the convent of the Dominicans.

G. Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di C. dal Pozzo,* (1875), pp. 53-54.

32. Relief from Rome, (?) Iseum Campense.
Present whereabouts unknown. Egyptian granite. Paving block discovered in 1871-1872 in front of the Pantheon, in the Piazza della Rotunda.

P. Rosa, *Scoperte archeologiche,* (1871-1872), pp. 73-74.

33. Relief from Rome, Iseum Campense.
Present whereabouts unknown. H.: 0.50 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Two recumbent sphinxes. In Rome in the Palazzo Lancelotti in 1882.

Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke,* III, p. 210, no. 4008.

34. RELIEF from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Present whereabouts unknown. Marble. Fragment of pavement with Egyptian figures and hieroglyphs. Found in 1858 under the house of the Tranquilli, Via di S. Ignazio.

R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), pp. 44-45 and 47.

35-36. RELIEF from ROME, Iseum in Regio III (figs. 55-56).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, nos. 80-81. Luna marble. No. 80: H.: 1.13 m; W.: 0.43 m; Th.: 0.17 m. No. 81: H.: 0.96 m; W.: 0.50 m; Th.: 0.16 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style, possibly a fragment of a frieze. Found in 1876 in a house in the area of the Iseum in Regio III, near S. Giovanni in Laterano.

Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, III, p. 216, no. 4003; G. Schneider-Graziosi, in *Bull. Com.*, (1915), pp. 118-122, pl. IV; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 120, nos. 193-194, pl. LXXXII; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, I, p. 385, no. 488.

37-39. RELIEFS from ROME, Palatine (figs. 57-58).

Rome, Antiquarium on the Palatine, nos. 12.498, 12.500, 12.502. Greek marble. No. 12.498: H. max.: 0.31 m; W. max.: 0.15 m. No. 12.500: H. max.: 0.28 m; W. max.: 1.46 m. No. 12.502: H. max.: 1.20 m; W. max.: 0.90 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Imitation hieroglyphs. The reliefs could be three fragments of the same piece.

No. 12.498 was found in 1893 on the north-east slope of the Palatine, near the arch of Titus. No. 12.500 was found in 1936-1937 on the east slope of the Palatine. No. 12.502 was found in 1912 in the peristyle of the Domus Flavia.

For the no. 12.498 see: Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, III, p. 217, no. 4006. *NSc*, (1893), p. 163, i).

For the three fragments together: Bartoli, in *Rend. Atti Pont. Accad. rom.*, XXIX, (1956-57), pp. 35-42, fig. 12 (12.502), 13 (12.500), 14 (12.498); Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, II, pp. 864-865, no. 2080, 2081.

40. RELIEF from ROME, Palatine (fig. 59).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 22. Yellow limestone. H.: 0.56 m; W.: 0.80 m; Th. 0.16 m. Roman imitation of a winged scarab. Found in the Via dei Fori Imperiali.

Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 27.

41. (?) RELIEF from ROME (fig. 60).

Copenhagen, NyCarlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 293. Black "basalt". H.: 0.26 m. (?) Ptolemaic. A head. Found in Rome.

V. Schmidt, *Den Aegyptische Samling,* (1899), p. 374, A. 452; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415.

42. RELIEF from ROME (fig. 61).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 108. Luna marble. H.: 0.43 m; W.: 0.43 m; Th.: 0.17 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Re-cut into an Ionic capital. Found in 1880 in the foundations of the Ruspoli house in the Via Due Marcelli.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 318, no. 64a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 122, no. 198, pl. LXXXIII.

43. RELIEF from (?) ROME.

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 121. White marble with black veins. H.: 0.73 m; W.: 1.47 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. An Isiac procession.

In the Mattei collection from the 17th century until 1801, then in the court of the Belvedere, and subsequently in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio.

The theme and style recall the reliefs on the columns of the Iseum Campense (nos. 16-19).

Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, Windsor,* no. 8518; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, pl. CXVI, 1; A. Venuti, *Vetera monumenta quae ... in aedibus Matthaeiorum adservantur,* (1779), III, p. 26, 2; Amelung, *Vat. Mus.*, II, p. 142, no. 55, pl. VII; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 127, no. 211; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom.* I, p. 388, no. 491 (and further bibliography).

44. RELIEF from (?) ROME (fig. 62).

Present whereabouts unknown. Ptolemaic (Ptolemy II) from Sais. Inscribed.

It was copied in Rome in the 16th century. M. Yoyotte suggested to me that the fragment belongs to an historical text of Ptolemy II, another portion of which is in the Louvre (inv. no. C.123).

Cod. Urs. fol. 6 r.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac,* no. 3864.

45. RELIEF from (?) ROME (figs. 63-64).

Present whereabouts unknown. Portion of a hieroglyphic text (?) copied. In Rome in the 16th century.

Cod. Urs., fol. 8 r., 9 r.

46. RELIEF from (?) ROME (fig. 65).

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) Roman relief in Hellenistic style. A child between two figures, one of whom is Isis wrapped in wings. Drawn by Dal Pozzo in the beginning of the 17th century.

Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, Windsor,* no. 8580; Montfaucon, *Antiq. expl.,* II, 2, pl. CXX, no. 1; J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi,* (1767), I, pl. LXXV; II, p. 100.

47. RELIEF from ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. "2 palms by 2 palms". Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Found in Rome near S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and in 1814 in the Museo Borgiano.

Documenti inediti, I, p. 338, no. 235.

48. RELIEF from ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. "3 palms by 2 palms 10". Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Part of a portico, with Greek inscription: ΠΟΑΕΙΤΗΣ, and an Osirian crown. Found near the Colosseum, and in 1814 in the Borgia collection.

Documenti inediti, I, pp. 338-339, no. 250.

49. RELIEF from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 66).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Found in the 18th century at Tivoli.

The composition is very similar to the mosaic found at Montebello near Prima Porta, and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Both pieces show an Egyptianizing figure seated in front of a basket from which a snake is emerging.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta,* I, pl. LXXXIII, no. 4.

50. RELIEF from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 67).

Present whereabouts unknown. "Basalt". Roman creation: note the three-quarter view instead of the normal Egyptian profile.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta,* II, pl. LVI, no. 3.

51. RELIEF: Provenance unknown.

Kleinglienicke, (near Potsdam, Germany). Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. An Isiac procession.

Brought from Rome in the 19th century by Prince Karl of Prussia, brother of Kaiser Wilhelm I. The relief is similar to the columns of the Iseum Campense (nos. 16-19) in its clumsy stiff style and in subject. Note the frontal pose of the priest with an Anubis mask, and its Hellenistic contraposto.

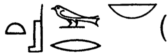
M. Shede, in *ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ*, 11, (1926), pp. 60-61, fig. 4; F. W. Goethert, *Katalog der Antikensammlungen des Prinzen Carl von Preussen Schloss zu Klein-Glienicke bei Postdam*, (1970).

52. Relief: Provenance unknown (fig. 68).

Munich, Glyptothek, (cat. Wolters) no. 33a. Limestone. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Bes and a sphinx.

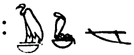
P. Wolters, *Illustrierter Katalog der K. Glyptothek z. München*, (1912), p. 12, no. 33a.

53. Relief: Provenance unknown (fig. 69).

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 1029 (first left in the staircase). Limestone. H.: 0.45 m; W.: 0.63 m. Roman imitation of hieroglyphs. Fragment of a cartouche with  (3st wr(t)nbt..., "Isis the great, lady of...") and two uraei facing each other.

Ruesh, *Guida... Napoli*, p. 123, no. 342.

54. Relief: Provenance unknown (fig. 70).

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 1031 (second right in the staircase). Pink granite. H.: 0.57 m; W.: 0.48 m. Roman imitation of the hieroglyphs:  (nbty, the Two Ladies, mry, etc.).

Ruesh, *Guida... Napoli*, p. 123, no. 340.

55. Relief: Provenance unknown (fig. 71).

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 1078 (first right in the staircase). Limestone. H.: 0.37 m; W.: 0.55 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. A (?) god's head. The style is similar to that of the relief now in the Palazzo Corsetti in Rome (no. 66).

Ruesh, *Guida... Napoli*, p. 122, no. 339.

56. (?) Relief: Provenance unknown (fig. 72).

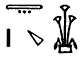
Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 2326 (third left in the staircase). Red granite. H.: 2.19 m; W.: 0.61 m.

Fragment of an obelisk? Huge and offering king (see no. 83).

Ruesh, *Guida... Napoli*, p. 123, no. 344.

57. RELIEF: Provenance unknown (fig. 73).

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no number. Marble. H.: 0.47 m; B.: 0.73 m. Roman imitation. Clump of lotus and papyrus, derived from the clump of papyrus symbolic of Lower Egypt:



The two outer plants of the Roman relief are actually papyrus, but the centre one is the lotus, the plant of Upper Egypt. These two types of flowers were most commonly seen on royal Egyptian thrones as part of the symbolic scene of the unification of the Two Lands.

Ruesh, *Guida... Napoli*, p. 123, no. 345.

58. RELIEF: Provenance unknown (fig. 74).

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no number (third right in the staircase). Granite. H.: 1.02 m; W.: 0.69 m.

XIXth Dynasty (Ramesses II): two cartouches.

Ruesh, *Guida... Napoli*, p. 123, no. 341.

59-60. 2 RELIEFS: Provenance unknown (figs. 75-76).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 147 a and b. Red granite. H.: 0.75 m; W.: 0.505 m. Roman copies (restored).

The two fragments were in the Albani collection and used to decorate the base of a piece of the Palestrina obelisk (see also no. 85).

Iversen, *Obelisks*, p. 180, fig. 163c, d.

61. RELIEF: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no number. White limestone. H.: 0.44 m; W.: 0.32 m; Th.: 0.07 m.

(?) Egyptian. Represents a hand holding a composite sceptre. The carving is sharp and neat.

62-64. RELIEF: Provenance unknown (fig. 77-79).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, nos. 115, 118, 120. Luna marble. No. 115: H.: 0.41 m; W.: 0.61 m. No. 118: H.: 0.61 m; W.: 0.85 m. No. 120: H.: 0.56 m; W.: 0.95 m. Roman imitation of the Kom Ombo reliefs of Ptolemy XI. Three fragments from the same relief.

J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi,* (1765), I, fig. LXXXVI; II, p. 102; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 306, no. 31c (115), p. 321, no. 69c, d (118, 120); Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 121, no. 195 (118), no. 196 (115), no. 197 (120), pl. LXXXIII.

65. RELIEF: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Museo Vaticano, Galleria dei Candelabri, no. 70. White marble. H.: 0.47 m; W.: 0.47 m. Roman copy. A Horus falcon (restored).

Amelung, *Vat. Mus.*, III, 2, p. 151, no. 70.

66. RELIEF: Provenance unknown (fig. 80).

Rome, Palazzo Corsetti, staircase. White limestone. H.: 0.37 m; W.: 0.48 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. A royal head. The style is similar to that of no. 55.

Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke,* III, p. 218, no. 4011.

67. RELIEF: Provenance unknown (fig. 81).

Present whereabouts unknown. Marble.

Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. A kneeling figure presents a stela (?); on each side of the figure, there are two plants on the top of which are, on the right, a ba-bird with a sun-disk and two uraei; and on the left, a snake with a sun-disk. The kneeling figure is represented in front view, which is wholly un-Egyptian.

It was in 1882 in the Vigna Rondini but has now disappeared.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta,* II, pl. LXVIII, no. 2; Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke,* no. 4005.

OBELISKS

68. OBELISK[1] from ROME, Circus Gai et Neronis (fig. 82).

Rome, Piazza di S. Pietro. Red granite.

Uninscribed except for a Latin dedication on the base. The unusual shape of its pyramidion could identify this obelisk with the one mentioned by Pliny (*Historia Naturalis,* XXXVI, XIV, 67-69). Pliny speaks of an obelisk hewn uninscribed by Necthebis, (presumably Nectanebo II), erected at Alexandria by Ptolemy II in the Arsinoeum whence "it was moved to the forum by a certain Maximus, a governor of Egypt who cut off the point, intending to add a gilt pinnacle in its place, a plan which he later abandoned". We know that the Vatican obelisk was standing in the Forum Julium, at Alexandria, in about 30-28 B.C., with a dedication in bronze letters by Caius Cornelius Gallus on its base[1]. It is just possible that this obelisk had simply been "taken over" by Gallus, and was actually the Nectanebo obelisk.

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[1] Nash, *Pict. Dic.*, I, pp. 234-235; II, pp. 161-162 and figs; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi,* pp. 1-103 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks,* pp. 19-46 and figs.

Under Tiberius, the bronze dedication was removed, leaving in the stone the marks of the staples, and was replaced by an inscription carved in the stone itself.

Under Caligula, the obelisk was brought to Rome and erected in the Circus Gai; for political reasons, Caligula had Tiberius' inscription more or less erased and the obelisk set up so that the inscription could not be seen[2].

Under Nero, Tacitus reports that mass executions of Christians took place in the Circus[3]. St. Peter was crucified at the same time. At the end of the century, the Circus was abandoned and the Vatican hill turned into a necropolis.

In the Middle Ages, the obelisk was still standing at the same place, then south of the basilica of St. Peter's, in front of S. Andrea. The Christian tradition soon established a close connection between the obelisk and its surroundings associating it to the story of St. Peter and its martyrdom. The obelisk was thus called "Pyramis Beati Petri" or "Acus Beati Petri"[4].

But from the 11th century onwards[5], in Romanizing chronicles of the Middle Ages, the obelisk was usually regarded as the funerary monument of Julius Caesar, whose ashes would have been in the bronze ball at the top of the obelisk (fig. 82, Cronaca's drawing).

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[1] F. Magi, in *Studi Romani*, II, (1963), p. 50 f.

[2] E. Iversen, in *JEA*, LI, (1965), pp. 149-154 and figs.; additional bibliography in *Orientalia*, XXXV, (1966), p. 172 and XXXVII, (1968), p. 133; a different point of view is held by H. Volkmann, in *Gymnasium*, LXXXIV, (1967), pp. 501-508, who thinks that both inscriptions belong to Caligula's reign, and that the obelisk was previously erected in Nicopolis rather than in Alexandria.

[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, XLIV.

[4] R. A. Lipsius, *Die Quellen der römischen Petrussage*, (1872); H. Litzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rome*, (1927), XVI, p. 226 f.

[5] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 552.

In the 16th century, a new tale was added to the already long list of stories about the obelisk: among other people, Rabelais mentions the monument as "Virgil's needle". The obelisk would have been cut in Jerusalem by Solomon, and brought magically into Rome by Virgil, in a single night[1].

In the 15th century, Nicholas V (1447-1455) planned to re-erect the obelisk in front of the steps of St. Peter's, as part of a grandiose plan of renovation of the Vatican city, presumably suggested by Leone Battista Alberti. The project was not carried out until 1586, under Sixtus V, when Domenico Fontana was charged to perform the task. The day of its inauguration, the monument was exorcised. In 1587, the bronze ball, which had been examined and found empty, was presented to the city of Rome; it is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, in the Sala dei Bronzi[2].

69. OBELISK from ROME, Circus Maximus, eastern end of the spina (fig. 83).

Rome, Piazza del Popolo. Red granite. XIXth Dynasty (Sethos I and Ramesses II), from Heliopolis. Inscribed.

Brought to Rome by Augustus in 10 B.C., and erected, with a dedication to the sun, at the eastern end of the spina of the Circus Maximus. Ammianus Marcellinus quotes from Hermapion a plausible Greek translation of the hieroglyphic inscription of the obelisk (later dismissed as a fraud by Renaissance scholars).

The obelisk was still standing in the early Middle Ages when the one set up by Constantius had already fallen. In 1471, it was rediscovered by Leone Battista Alberti, lying under a thin layer of earth, but this discovery was soon forgotten. The obelisk was only excavated in 1587, after a long search. In 1589, Sixtus V had it erected in the Piazza del Popolo by Fontana. In 1818, the setting was completed by Valadier with copies of Egyptian lions.

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[1] On Virgil as a magician, see: F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, (1895), IV, 2, pp. 670-677.

[2] On the obelisk before its re-erection in 1586 see the sketches made in the 15-16th century: Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. 1352 v.; Hülsen, *G. da, Sangallo*, f. 8 g, 70 g; Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*, I, fol. 13 r., 15 r.; II. fol. 7 r., 9 r., 22 v., 51 r., 54 r.; T. Ashby, in *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 170 f., fol. 75 r.; Houghton Library, Harvard Univ., Ms. Typ. 152, fig. 11. (c. 1550). On the erection of the obelisk in 1586, see: D. Fontana, *Della transportatione dell' obelisco vaticano et delle fabriche di nostro signore Pape Sisto V*, (1590).

Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 4, (17-23), (transl. J. C. Rolfe, (1963), I. pp. 327-331); *Cod. Pighianus*, Tübingen, fol. 99 v. (Roman low relief); Erman, in *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, IX, (1941), p. 245 f.; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 409; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 236-240; II, pp. 32-33, 137-138 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 173-177 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 65-75 and figs.

70. OBELISK[1] from ROME, Circus Maximus, centre of the spina. Rome, Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano. Red granite. H.: 32 m. XVIIIth Dynasty (Tuthmosis III and IV), from Karnak. Inscribed. Unique obelisk dedicated by Tuthmosis III and erected after this death by his grandson Tuthmosis IV in the temple of Amun at Karnak, where it was apparently the object of a special cult[2].

In about A.D. 337 the obelisk was taken to Alexandria under Constantine, and in 357 to Rome under Constantius. It was erected in the centre of the spina of the Circus Maximus, enlarged since Augustus' time, where room had become available at the northwest of the Augustan obelisk. It was topped with a gilded bronze ball, soon destroyed by lightning and replaced by a bronze torch[3].

It was perhaps pulled down in the 6th century by Totila's (541-552) troops. It was lying broken but visible in the 8th century[4]. Then the circus, covered with rubbish accumulated during the centuries, turned into a swampy area which served as vegetable gardens for the canons of S. Maria in Cosmedin. The Tuthmosis obelisk, at the end of the Middle Ages, was buried under a layer of earth 7 m. deep. In 1410-1415, the Anonymus Magliabecchianus noticed that workmen testing the marshes with poles often struck the obelisk, the presence of which was known through Ammianus Marcellinus' text[5]. This may be the reason why one sees a small broken and fallen obelisk on the plan of Rome by Pol de Limbourg in 1411-1416, on the site of the Circus Maximus[1] (fig. 113).

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[1] Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 409; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 236-240; II, pp. 142-143 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 160-171 and figs.; A. Ragona, *L'obelisco di Costanzo II e la datazione dei mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, 1966; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 55-64 and fig.

[2] G. Lefebvre, in *Revue archéologique*, XXXI-XXXII, (1949), pp. 586-593; Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*, L, (1950), pp. 257-267; P. Barguet, ibidem, pp. 269-280; idem, in *Reuve archéologique*, XXXVII, (1951), pp. 1-4; Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, ibidem, pp. 5-13; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, (1955), pp. 930-931; J. Yoyotte, in *Kêmi*, XIV, (1957), pp. 81-91.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 4, (15), (transl. J. C. Rolfe, (1963), p. 327).

[4] *Cod. Top.*, II, Einsiedeln Itinerary, fol. 84, b, 4.

[5] *Cod. Top.*, IV, pp. 129-131.

In 1586, Mercati mentioned the presence of this obelisk to Pope Sixtus V, who had excavations undertaken on the spot. In 1587, the obelisk was unearthed together with the Augustan one. In 1588, it was erected in front of S. Giovanni in Laterano, winter residence of the Pope. Fontana had to cut part of the base of the shaft, and restored the damaged obelisk with fragments of the Roman pedestal[2]. The ceremony of inauguration followed the same pattern as for the Esquiline and Vatican obelisks, with exorcism and praise of the victory of Christianity over paganism.

71. OBELISK[3] from ROME, Gardens of Sallust (fig. 84).

Rome, SS. Trinità dei Monti. Red granite. H.: 14 m. Date uncertain. Inscribed with spurious hieroglyphs in Roman Imperial times.

The obelisk was brought from Egypt uninscribed and decorated at Rome, probably at a later date, with a clumsy copy of the inscriptions on the obelisk set up by Augustus in the Circus Maximus. It was set up in the Gardens of Sallust between A.D. 79 (date of the death of Pliny who does not mention the obelisk) and A.D. 360 (when it was mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus).

There are various problems in connection with this piece. The shape is good, suggesting that it may have been quarried before the Roman period. It may well have been brought to Rome as an uninscribed piece some time before it was "decorated" and set up in the Gardens of Sallust. There is a further point to consider here: the difficulty of reproducing the text of the obelisk of the Circus Maximus once it was erected on the spina. One has, in fact, to reckon with the possibility that the text was copied at the time the obelisk of the Circus Maximus was brought to Rome. It has been suggested that the very poor style of the hieroglyphs indicates the very late date of the imitation[1]. The style of the carving is, in fact, of no evidential value—too much depends on the expertise of the executant (see the Mensa Isiaca, no. 324). One cannot propose a chronological order of decline in style. In Hadrian's time, for example, both excellent and absurd imitations were being produced.

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[1] Pol de Limbourg, *Très riches heures du duc de Berry*, folio 141 v., at Chantilly, musée Condé. This obelisk could as well be no. 69.

[2] Two fragments of the Roman base were mentioned in 1814 in an inventory of the Museo Borgiano. See *Documenti inediti*, I, p. 349, nos. 379, 380. No. 379 had already been mentioned by Mercati and is now in Naples, Museo Nazionale.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 4, (16), (transl. J. C. Rolfe, (1963), p. 327); Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 258 and pl.; Zoega, *Ob.*, pp. 616-617; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 412; Nash, in *MdI*, LXIV, (1957) pp. 239-250; idem, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 491-499; II, pp. 144-147 and pl.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 268-279 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 128-141 and figs.

The obelisk escaped the storming of the Pincio by Alaric's troops in 410. It was still standing in the 8th century, when the author of the Einsiedeln itinerary visited Rome[2]. In the 16th century it had long since fallen down and could be seen, lying broken on the hill[3]. It was mentioned on most contemporary maps[4], and was thought to have stood in a circus in the Gardens of Sallust.

The obelisk was removed to the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1734; this was a first step towards the execution of a project for its erection in front of the basilica. The project never went further, and in 1789 the obelisk was erected in front of SS. Trinità dei Monti, at the top of the Spanish Steps. In 1843 its base was discovered in the grounds of the villa Ludovisi; it is now in the gardens at the south-east of S. Maria in Aracoeli, on the Capitol.

72. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense, then Circus of Maxentius (figs. 85-86).

Rome, Piazza Navona. Red granite. Roman (Domitian). Inscribed (original text in hieroglyphs).

First erected in the Iseum Campense, in the central court, as indicated on the marble plan of Rome, near a round fountain, shortly after Domitian's accession in A.D. 81. In the beginning of the 4th century it was removed under Maxentius to be erected in his circus on the Appian Way.

In the Middle Ages it lay broken but visible, and was presumably not mentioned because it was outside the city walls. In 1410-1415 the Anonymus Magliabecchianus saw it, and, some years later, Poggio Bracciolini. In the 16th century it was drawn by several artists: Sangallo, Coner, Ligorio, Panvinio and Dupérac. In 1648, Innocent X, probably at A. Kircher's suggestion, had it moved to the Piazza Navona where the private palace of the Papal family stood (the Pamphili.) It was erected in 1649 on Bernini's Fontana dei Fiumi. Damaged fragments of the shaft were copied for the restoration of the obelisk and some of the original fragments were then left in front of the Pamphili palace, later bought by the Borgia. Others were left in the circus, discovered in 1825, but excavated later.

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[1] Zoega, *Ob.*, p. 619; Kattenfeld, in *MdI*, XXVIII, (1913), p. 106 f.; Iversen *Myth*, pp. 53-54; idem, *Obelisks*, p. 128.

[2] *Cod. Top.*, II, p. 155.

[3] *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 170 f., fol. 75 r.; *Cod. Pighianus*, Berlin, fol. 48 r.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 3 r.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3862; Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, figs. 53, 90-94.

[4] A. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, (1962), Tav. I, pls. 210, 223, 226, 228, 234, 235, 239, 240, 255.

> Hülsen, *G. da Sangallo*, fol. 70 f.; Ms. by Andreas Coner, in the Soane Museum, London, fol. 56 r.; *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 170f., fol. 75 r.v.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 6 v.; S. Dupérac, *I vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma*, (1575), fol. 40; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3863; Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 30; Kircher, *Ob. Pamph.*; idem, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 562; Zoega, *Ob.*, pp. 74-75; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, (1871), II, p. 183; *Documenti inediti*, I, p. 350, no. 590; T. Ashby, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, II, (1904), p. 40, and pl. (no. 69c); Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, pp. 310-311, no. 46a; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, pp. 411-412; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 510-511; II, pp. 159-160 and figs.; Iversen, *Myth*, p. 54; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 222, 229 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 76-92 and figs.

73. OBELISK[1] from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 87 - 90).
Rome, Villa Celimontana. Red granite. XIXth Dynasty (Ramesses II), from Heliopolis. Inscribed.

Broken: the upper part is now incorporated in the obelisk of the Villa Celimontana (H.: 2.68 m); the lower portion presumably now in the Urbino obelisk, largely recut[2] (no. 77); a fragment inscribed with two cartouches of Ramesses II and seen in the 17th century in the Piazza del Popolo[3] might have also have belonged to this obelisk[4]. It was erected on the dromos of the Iseum Campense.

The upper part of the obelisk was probably found in the 13th century, and in connection with the general renovation of Rome particularly the restoration of the Capitol, it was decided to erect it on this hill[5]. The best marble-cutters of the time, the Cosmati, were charged with the operation, and completed the antique fragment with an uninscribed shaft, 5 m. high, cut from a granite column. They also designed a pedestal, with, as astragals for the obelisk, a cross-shaped plinth ending in the protomes of lions. (Curiously enough these lions are purely Hellenistic in style, though the Cosmati elsewhere produced several copies after Egyptian lions then extant in Rome.)[1] The monument was erected near the west door of S. Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitol.

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[1] Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 320, figs. pp. 322-323; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, livre 2, ch. VIII, pl. CXLIII, no. 5, p. 352; Zoega, *Ob.*, pp. 80-81; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 503; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, III, p. 83; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 411; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, II, pp. 139-141 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 204-216 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 106-114 and figs.

[2] H. W. Müller, in *ZÄS*, LXXIX, (1954), pp. 143-149, pl. XV and figs. 1, 2, 3.

[3] Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 54.

[4] Iversen, op. cit., pp. 106-107 and fig. 85.

[5] K. Noehles, in *Festschrift Werner Hager*, (1966), pp. 18-23 and figs. 9-15.

In 1407, in A. Pietro dello Schiavo's time[2], the obelisk could be seen on the hill, and served as a conspicuous landmark in the city. In the middle of the century we come across the tradition that the obelisk was Octavian's tomb. This late medieval tale was obviously elaborated as a parallel to the legend concerning the Vatican obelisk and Caesar's ashes, but it was also linked with the local tradition of the vision of Octavian on the site of S. Maria in Aracoeli.

In 1499, the Capitoline obelisk and the palm tree which grew nearby, were used as elements in a romantic landscape ruin in a woodcut for the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (fig. 87). A detailed drawing was made by Cronaca at the turn of the century[3] (fig. 95).

In 1535, M. van Heemskerck[4] took several sketches of the obelisk (fig. 88), just before it was taken down and left lying in the cemetery of the convent of Aracoeli until 1582 (fig. 90)[5]. It was then given to Mattei, who, in 1587-1588, had the obelisk erected on its medieval base, in a small circus in the garden of his villa on the Coelian. The lions of the plinth were not re-used, but left apart in the garden.

In 1817, the obelisk was removed some yards further into the garden, to a grove, where it still stands. Two of the four Cosmati lions are near the obelisk, under a large stone sarcophagus (fig. 89).

74. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 91-92).

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[1] Iversen, op. cit., p. 113, note 3. See also above p. 9.

[2] A. Pietro Dello Sciavo (ed. F. Isoldi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, T.XXIV, part 5, p. 21).

[3] Cronaca, Ms. Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 r.

[4] Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*, I, fol. 6 r., 11 r., 61 r.; II, fol. 12 r., 16 r., 50 v., 56 r., 72 r., 92 r.

[5] G. Colonna, Ms. Vat. 7721, fol. 61 r. (sketch made in 1554); *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 170 f., fol. 75 r.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 5 r.; B. Peruzzi, Ms. Siena Library, fol. 31 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3861 (right); P. Belon du Mans, *De admirabili operum*, (1555), III, 1, ch. 8.

Rome, Piazza della Rotunda. Red granite. XIXth Dynasty (Ramesses II), from Heliopolis. Inscribed.

Brought to Rome and erected on the dromos of the Iseum Campense.

It was probably discovered in 1374, during the reconstruction of the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva and was seen, lying broken near S. Macuto, by the Anonymus Magliabecchianus in 1410-1415. It was erected some years later near the same church, and, because of its proximity to the Schola Bruti, was referred to as the "Sepulchrum Bruti" in the late 15th century. In 1711, Clement XI had it erected in front of the Pantheon, on the top of the fountain of the Piazza della Rotunda.

Cronaca, Ms. Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 r.; *Cod. Top.*, IV, p. 130; A. P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma,* (1962), II, 158, 159, 160; *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 170 f., fol. 75 v.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 3 v., 4 r.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac,* no. 3860; Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus,* figs. 1, 2, 3; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 409; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 510-511; II, pp. 150-151 and fig.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi,* pp. 250-255 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks,* pp. 101-105 and figs.

75. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 93).

Florence, Boboli Gardens. Red granite. XIXth Dynasty (Ramesses II), from Heliopolis. Inscribed.

Brought to Rome and erected on the dromos of the Iseum Campense.

It was found in c. 1550 behind S. Maria sopra Minerva and brought by Cardinal Federico Medici for his villa on the Pincio, in whose gardens it stood until 1788.

In 1790 it was taken to Florence and erected in the Boboli gardens.

Cod. Urs. fol. 4 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac,* no. 3861 (left); Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus,* figs. 4, 23, 24, 25, 26; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, 1st fig. opposite p. 317, pp. 325-327; *Documenti inediti,* IV, p. 78, no. 54; F. Boyer, in *Revue archéologique,* XXX, (1929), p. 267, no. 299; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 407; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 510-511; II, pp. 157-158 and figs.

76. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, Viale delle Terme. Red granite. XIXth Dynasty (Ramesses II), from Heliopolis. Inscribed.

Brought to Rome, and erected on the dromos of the Iseum Campense.

First discovered in 1719 under the Bibliotheca Casanatense, but the discovery was kept secret. In 1883, it was rediscovered and excavated in a perfect state of preservation, being then erected in 1887 to the memory of the "eroi di Dogali" in the Piazza dei Cinquecento, near the railway station. It was removed to its present position in 1924.

R.Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), pp. 34-35, 58, 86-91, and pls. XI-XII; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, pp. 409-411; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 510-511; II, pp. 148-149 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 303-308 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 174-177 and figs.

77. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 94-95).

Urbino, Piazza del Duomo. Red granite. H.: 4.70 m.

XXVIth/XIXth Dynasty (Ramesses II), Inscribed. Composed of five fragments of at least two different obelisks: two fragments from an obelisk of Apries brought from Sais (with no. 78), one fragment upside down and perhaps re-cut from a fragment of the lower shaft of the obelisk of Ramesses II now at Rome in the villa Celimontana no. 73, and two fragments of unknown origin, one of which is uninscribed.

The original obelisks were erected on the dromos of the Iseum Campense. The fragments were probably found with the Pantheon obelisk in 1374 (no. 74). They were left near S. Macuto, built into walls, until 1729, when they were all given to Cardinal Albani who had them set up as a single obelisk, which he gave to his native town of Urbino in 1739. (See also no. 58).

Cronaca, Ms. Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 r. (curiously enough, Cronaca had already represented the several fragments as a single obelisk); Hülsen-Egger, *M. v Heemskerck*, I, fol. 63 r.; *Cod. Urs.* fol. 5 v.; Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, figs. 18, 55; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 382, 383 and fig.; idem, *Ob. aeg.*, p. 134, figs. A and B; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 408, and p. 411, §5; H. W. Müller, in *ZÄS*, LXXIX, (1954), pp. 143-149, pl. XV and fig.; S. Curto, in *Atti dei congressi di storia dell'architettura*, XI congresso, march 1959; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 510-511; II, pp. 153-154 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 106-107, 179 and figs.

78. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, Piazza della Minerva. Red granite. H.: 5.47 m.

XXVIth Dynasty (Apries), from Sais. Inscribed. Though its companion remains in Egypt (in Cairo), this obelisk was taken to Rome with another of Apries (no. 77) to stand paired on the dromos of the Iseum Campense.

It was found in 1655, during the reign of Alexander VII, in the eastern garden of the convent of the Dominicans near S. Maria sopra Minerva, and in 1667 Bernini erected it on the back of an elephant in the Piazza della Minerva. This monument had admirers: in the 18th century, the city of Catania erected an obelisk on a stone elephant in front of its cathedral. This monument was certainly inspired by Bernini's.

Kircher, *Ob. aeg.*; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, IV, p. 71; VII, p. 411; W. S. Heckscher, in *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX, (1947), pp. 155-182; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, I, pp. 510-511; II, p. 152 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 230-237 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 93-100 and figs.

79. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, S. Andrea della Valle. Red granite. L.: 4.27 m; W.: 1.38 m.

Fragment of a large obelisk found in the area of the Via di S.Ignazio and used as a doorstep in the church of S. Andrea della Valle. A small step has been cut into the mass of the stone, at the level of the door.

A. Cassio, *Corso della acque*, (1756), I, p. 30; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 181-182 and figs.

80. OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, Palazzo Giustiniani. Red granite. L.: 2.93 m-2.82 m; W.: 0.60 m-0.635 m indicating the original taper. Date unknown. No inscription visible.

Fragment of a small obelisk found in the area of the Via di S. Ignazio and used as a doorstep for the entrance to the Palazzo Giustiniani. This obelisk may be the origin of the tradition which alleges the presence of an obelisk buried under the Palazzo itself, and which, as Nash has demonstrated, is false. Boissard, moreover, noted a small obelisk near S. Eustachio, next door to the Palazzo, with inscriptions and cartouches (?).

Boissard, *Top.*, VI, pl. 137; A. Cassio, *Corso delle Acque*, (1756), I, p. 30; C. Maes, *Ricerche di un antico obelisco egiziano sepolto presso la Piazza di S. Luigi de' Francesi, con tavola topografica*, (1882); E. Nash, in *MdI*, LXIV, (1957), p. 259; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 181-182, fig. 168; J. Leclant, in *Orientalia*. XXXVII, (1968), p. 133, no. 9c.

(?) OBELISK from ROME, Iseum Campense.

See under RELIEFS (no. 29).

81. OBELISK from ROME, Mausoleum of Augustus.

Rome. Piazza del 'Esquilino. Red granite. Roman. Uninscibed.

Erected with its twin (no. 82) on the north of the facade of the mausoleum of Augustus, probably about the end of the 1st century A.D. The pyramidion was cut away to make room for some kind of ornament. In the Middle Ages the mausoleum was turned into a fort, and the two obelisks, which had fallen down, were buried, but their existence was known through the text of Ammianus Marcellinus who had mentioned them in A.D. 360.

In 1510, the western obelisk was discovered and was drawn and measured by Sangallo. It was completely excavated in 1519 and the fragments were left in the adjoining Via di Ripetta where Peruzzi was able to take a sketch of the monument. In 1587, it was erected by Fontana in front of the entrance of the Villa of Sixtus V on the Esquiline.

Cod. Top., I, pl 149; A. Fulvio, *Antiquitates urbis*, (1527), (translation Ferruci), p. 138; A. Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, (1960), II, figs. 201-202; III, figs. 355, 412, 420; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, II, p. 155 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 154-159 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 47-54 and figs.

82. OBELISK from ROME, Mausoleum of Augustus.

Rome, Piazza del Quirinale. Red granite. Roman. Uninscribed.

Erected with its twin (no. 81) on the north of the facade of the mausoleum of Augustus, probably in the 1st century A.D. The pyramidion was cut away to make room for some kind of ornament. The existence of the obelisk was known all through the Middle Ages up to the Renaissance through Ammianus Marcellinus. In 1527, Fulvio mentioned the presence of the eastern obelisk under S. Rocco, while, in 1548, Fauno spoke, of "due uguali obelisci ... l'altro è dietro la chiesa di S. Rocco, coperto di terreno". In 1549, Aldrovandi mentioned its being uncovered, but it was then reburied and its location forgotten.

In 1782, it was excavated and in 1786, under Pius VI, the three fragments of the obelisk were erected in the Piazza del Quirinale, between the two horse-tamers.

Cod. Top., I, p. 149; A. Fulvio, *Antiquitates urbis*, (1527), (translation Ferruci), p. 138; L. Fauno, *Antichità della città di Roma*, (1548), p. 126 v.; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 315; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, III, p. 368; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, II, pp. 156-157 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obeliscshi*, pp. 256-267 and figs; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 115-127 and figs.

83. OBELISK from ROME, Sundial in the Campus Martius.

Rome, Piazza di Montecitorio. Red granite. H.: 21.79 m. XXVIth Dynasty (Psammetichus II), from Heliopolis. Inscribed.

Brought to Rome by Augustus in 10 B.C., and erected as a gnomon for a sundial in the Campus Martius, near the Ara Pacis, topped with a bronze ball to reflect the shadow of the sun. It was very soon out of use.

It was still standing in the 8th century, when the Einsiedeln itinerary was composed. It was probably overturned in 1084, when the Normans stormed the Campo Marzio. The base was rediscovered in 1475, and the obelisk in 1502. In 1587, Sixtus V had some hasty excavations done, during which van Aelst was able to take sketches of the obelisk's inscription, published in 1608 by von Hohenburg, and in 1654-1666 Kircher did some excavations on the site.

In 1748 the obelisk was definitively excavated and in 1792, under Pius VI, it was erected in the Piazza di Montecitorio.

Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVI, 72-73 (transl. Eichholz, (1962), pp. 56-59); Ms. of Andreas Coner, in the Soane Museum, London, fol. 56 r.; F. Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma*, (1594); Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 56; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 378-379 and fig.; idem, *Ob. aeg.*, p. 132 and fig.; A. M. Bandini, *Dell obelisco di Cesare Augusto scavato dalle rovine del Campo Marzo*, (1750); De Rossi, in *Studi e documenti di storia e divitto*, III, (1882), pp. 49-87; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, pp. 467-468; idem, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, (1899), pp. 172-173; T. Ashby, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, II, (1904), p. 40 and pl. (no. 69d); Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 411; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, II, pp. 134-136 and fig.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 280-291 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 142-160 and figs. There are two fragments of the obelisk which are now, the first one in Naples, Museo Naz., the other in Rome, collection Orlando-Castellano: *Documenti inediti*, I, p. 349, no. 456; Iversen, *Obelisks*, p. 149, note 2; S. Bosticco, in *Aegyptus*, XXXVII, (1957), pp. 63-64 and fig.

84. OBELISK from ROME, (?) Theatre of Pompey.

Present whereabouts unknown.

Noted at Rome at the end of the 16th century, this small obelisk, said to have come from the theatre of Pompey, was still standing in the early 17th century at the staircase of the Palazzo Orsini in the Campo dei Fiori.

M. Mercati, *Degli obelischi di Roma*, (1589), p. 246; A. Fea, *Ritratto di Roma antica*, (1627), p. 357; Iversen, *Obelisks*, p. 178.

85. OBELISK, from Rome, Tiber Island (figs. 95-102).

Naples, Museo nazionale, no. 2324. Paris, Louvre, nos. B 46, B 47. Munich(?). Red granite. Surviving slabs: Naples: H. 0.94 m; W.: 0.50 m; Paris: H.: 0.75 m; W.: 0.505 m. Roman imitation hieroglyphs.

The obelisk was erected in the centre of the Tiber Island and stood in front of the temple of Aesculapius, built in the 3rd century A.D. The island was given, later in antiquity, the shape of a ship, which explains the tradition, extremely vivid in the Renaissance, according to which the obelisk would have been erected as a mast for the island. We know nothing of the obelisk in the Middle Ages, except by an (apocryphal?) text of Publius Victor, who mentions it. The monument was drawn by Cronaca sometime between 1480-1498 (fig. 95), with the text: "A san barttolomeo ne Isola trastevere ed e lavoratta da ogni banda" (At S. Bartolomeo on the Island Trastevere and it is carved on every side). Gamucci described the obelisk more than fifty years later and pointed out that it was too small to have ever been intended to stand as a mast for the Island. A contemporary map of Rome (1557) shows it lying on the ground (bad perspective?) in front of S. Bartolomeo (fig. 96), a very small needle indeed. In spite of this, the old tradition of the obelisk-mast continued to flourish among antiquarians, artists and scholars of the Renaissance. There does not exist a single reconstruction of imperial Rome executed at the time (fig. 97) which does not show the Island as a ship, and the obelisk as a huge towering mast (see all the maps of ancient Rome printed in the 16th century, and more particularly the model of the imperial city which Pirro Ligorio built in the gardens of the villa d'Este at Tivoli, using the Tiber Island obelisk as a fountain). In 1565, the obelisk was pulled down. Some fragments remained in front of the church, where Kircher saw them in 1654 (fig. 98). They were then given to the Borgia collection at Velletri. The collection was soon dispersed; one fragment is now in Naples (fig. 101). Two others served in the villa Albani to decorate the base of the obelisk of Palestrina. They are now in Paris (figs. 99-100). A fourth is said to be in Munich. In the 18th century, the Tiber Island obelisk was linked to a curious monument which was for a long time, and until recently, thought to be its apex: it was at least described as such and reproduced by Pococke (fig. 102), and Iversen follows this opinion. The so-called apex is in fact a very large stela (no. 320, figs. 328-329) still in Rome, in the gardens of the Palazzo Barberini ... more precisely in the vegetable garden.

A comparison of the Cronaca drawing with the few surviving fragments of the obelisk gives some information on the size and the style of the obelisk. One must nevertheless refrain from proposing any definite date for its execution, as this type of Egyptianizing creation can be found throughout the Roman period from the 1st to the 4th century A.D.

The average height of the slabs now in Paris and Naples is about 0.80 m. As the drawing by Cronaca shows that the obelisk had at least 8 of such motives along each side (the top is broken), one can deduce that the height of the monument in the 15th-16th century was about 6.40 m. Considering the width of each slab (0.50 cm), it seems unlikely that the obelisk was much higher, as it would have been disproportionate. The missing part was presumably the apex only, an assumption which is confirmed by the "hieroglyph" drawn by Cronaca at the top of the monument: it is a falcon crowned by the sun-disk, apparently one of the four falcons that Kircher drew nearly two centuries later. Details indicated by Kircher, such as the uraeus, the fish, or the falcon on a crescent, have been missed out by Cronaca, who could not very well see them from ground level, in as much as the carving is extremely shallow. These falcons were certainly intended to imitate the ones carved at the top of other Roman obelisks at the beginning of the usual dedication. The missing part of the obelisk must have been only the very top of the monument. The obelisk, of red granite, is probably a genuine Egyptian one, brought uninscribed to Rome, and carved at a later stage (see the obelisk of the Gardens of Sallust, no. 71). The decor of this monument—one can hardly speak of hieroglyphs—recalls the style of the Mensa Isiaca, and of the columns of the Iseum Campense. On the obelisk, we see two figures, one holding a standard with a falcon on top of it, the other a similar standard ending as a sḫm sceptre. The same types of figure can be seen in the processions carved on the granite columns of the Iseum Campense (figs 40, 42). The figure facing a snake represents a scene well-known to Isiacs, and which has survived on various monuments (no. 49, fig. 66). The isolated sacred animals on the Tiber Island obelisk may be compared to the ones which adorn the border of the Mensa Isiaca: lion (?), bull, cat (?), dog (?) (fig. 333).

These stylistic remarks and comparisons do not allow one to give a date to the obelisk: it could have been contemporary to the Mensa Isiaca (1st century A.D.), it could also be Hadrianic, or have been carved in the 3rd century A.D. to be erected in front of the newly built temple to Aesculapius. The question remains open.

The drawing by Cronaca, hitherto unpublished, is in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 r. Mr A. F. Shore and Prof. John R. Harris drew my attention to this document; the transcription of the inscription was kindly provided by Prof. and Mrs Julian Brown of Oxford University; Prof. T. Buddensieg, of Berlin University, was the first to identify the author of the drawing.

B. Gamucci, *Le antichità della città di Roma,* (1569), p. 179; Kircher, *Oed. Aeg.*, III, pp. 379-382 and fig.; Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum,* (1694-1699), III, p. 108; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, III, 2, lib. 11, ch. VII, 352; R. Pococke, *A Description of the East,* (1743), II, 2, p. 207, pl. XCI; Piranesi, *Le antichità romane,* (1756), IV, pl. 14; Casimiro, *Memorie istoriche*... (1764), p. 328; Zoega, *Ob.*, pp. 81-82 and 188; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 412; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 179-181; for the Naples fragments: Ruesh, *Guida*... *Napoli,* p. 123, no. 343; for the Louvre fragments: Clarac, *Musée*, II, 175, no. 2, 3; E. de Rougé, *Notice des monuments*... (1852), pp. 53-54; (1877), p. 66; for the Munich fragment: E. Platner, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* (1830-1842), III, 3, p. 564.

86. OBELISK from ROME, Tomb of Antinous, then Circus of Varianus.

Rome, Viale dell'Obelisco in the gardens on the Pincio. Red granite. H.: 9.25 m. Roman (Hadrian). Inscribed with an orginal text in hieroglyphs.

The obelisk was dedicated by Hadrian between A.D. 130 and 138 with an inscription in honour of Antinous and the Emperor. It was erected on Antinous' tomb in the precinct of a temple of Fortuna at Rome. In the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., it was moved to the Circus of Varianus, near the Via Labicana, and was erected on its spina.

In the Renaissance, it was still in situ, but fallen and broken. In 1570, the owners of the area of the circus erected the obelisk which had again collapsed before 1589, and was presumably buried. In 1630, it was excavated, and taken in 1632 to the courtyard of the palace of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, amateur of Egyptian antiquities. The obelisk remained lying in the garden till 1769, when it was given to Pope Clement XIV who put the fragments in the Gardens della Pigna in the Vatican.

It was erected on the Pincio by Pius VII in 1822.

A. Erman in *MdI*, XI, (1896), pp. 21 f., 113 f., 122 f.; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 412; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, II, pp. 130-133 and figs.; D'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, pp. 230-231 and 295-297 and figs.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 161-173 and figs.; see also above p. 45.

87. OBELISK from ROME (fig. 103).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 3. Red granite. H.: 0.25 m; W.: 0.34 m. Roman ((?) 1st century A.D.). Inscribed.

Fragment found in the Aurelian wall. Iversen supposes that it belongs to the obelisk of the Piazza Navona (no 72).

Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 25; Iversen, *Obelisks*, p. 90.

88. OBELISK from (?) ROME (figs. 104-110).

Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 3686. Black granite. H.: 1.73 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Inscribed with a copy of linear hieroglyphs.

The obelisk does not taper like a true obelisk. It was partially buried and already broken in the Renaissance which suggests that the obelisk is antique and not renaissance.

The text is a Roman copy of several original texts. John Baines, of Durham Univ., who studied the text of this obelisk, thinks it is a copy of a New Kingdom text or later ones. It starts with titles like a biographical text, but the later sections appear to be a more or less free combination of signs. It seems that the man who made the text was familiar with hieroglyphs but did not know what they meant.

It was noted at Rome in the 16th century "in aedibus Francisci senioris pietr... [illegible]...lapis quadratus ad instar obelisci sive pyramide... [illegible]...equilaterensis ubique" (fig. 106), and later reproduced by Kircher (figs. 107-110). In the 17th century, the piece was in the collection of Philip Vecchietti, and later in the Medici collection. See also Addenda.

Cod. Urs., fol. 7 r.; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 347-366, and figs.; Zoega, *Ob.*, pp. 84-86; E. Scamuzzi, in *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, (1945), p. 25, note 6.

89. OBELISK from (?) ROME

Present whereabouts unknown (?) "Basalt".

Obelisk with a bronze ball at the top, noted and drawn by Pirro Ligorio at Rome in the mid-16th century, "in S. Angelo in pescaria di marmo basalte oscuro".

T. Ashby, in *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 170 f., fol. 74 v. and fol. 75 r.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, p. 178.

90. OBELISK from (?) ROME (fig. 94, top left).

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) XXVIth Dynasty. Inscribed. Fragment noted at Rome in the 16th century, and now lost.

Cod. Urs., fol. 5v.; Iversen, *Obelisks*, fig. 82 (c)—incorrectly described.

91. OBELISK from (?) ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) "Basalt".

Small obelisk noted at Rome at the end of the 16th century in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio on the eastern slope of the Janiculum.

"... nella Chiesa di S. Pietro Montorio, si vede dal muro rilevato un obelisco picciolo, fatto di marmo etiopico, il quale volgarmente è chiamato affricano."

M. Mercati, *Degli obelischi di Roma*, (1589), p. 11; Iversen, *Obelisks*, p. 178.

92. OBELISK: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Borghese gardens, Giardino del Lago. Red granite. Date uncertain, but probably Roman. Uninscribed.

In 1650 this small obelisk was erected in the gardens of the Villa Borghese. In 1790, having been moved to the lake, it was erected in a shrubbery at the centre of a meridian.

Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 182-184 and fig. 169.

93. OBELISK: Provenance unknown.

Present whereabouts unknown. Date uncertain. In Rome in 1879, in the gardens of Mr. Esmeade. See Addenda.

J. H. Parker, *The Twelve Egyptian Obelisks in Rome*, (1873), pl. XIII.

PYRAMIDS

94. PYRAMID in ROME, Via Ostiensis (figs. 112-113). In situ.

Roman (Augustan) tomb of C. Cestius built shortly before 12 B.C. and later incorporated into the Aurelian Wall near the Porta Ostiensis. Known in the Middle Ages as the "Meta Remi", and represented in most of the 16th century drawings and engravings of Rome. Restored in 1663.

F. Albertini, *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, (1521), fol. X r.; Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*, I, fol. 18 v; II, fol. 54 v.; J. J. Boissard, Stockholm MS., S. 68, fol. 106 v.; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, II, pp. 321-323 and figs.

95. PYRAMID in ROME, Vatican necropolis (figs. 113-115).

Destroyed. Roman tomb of unknown date in the necropolis on the Vatican hill.

Being larger than the pyramid of Cestius it was known in the Middle Ages as the "Meta Romuli". It stood between Castel Sant'Angelo and the Vatican basilica. In 1500, it was partially destroyed by Alexander VI for the construction of the avenue leading from Castel Sant'Angelo to the Vatican. It remained visible until the second half of the 16th century (appearing for example on Bufalini's map of Rome, of 1551, as "Sepulcrum Scipionis Africani"). The foundations were discovered in 1948.

L. Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus,* (1871), pp. 79-81, 106 and 119; Müntz, *Notice sur un plan inédit de Rome au XVème siècle* (Extrait des procès verbaux de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, 21 april 1880); S. Stevenson, in *Bull. Com.*, IX, (1881), p. 101, pls. III, IV; Nash, *Pict. Dict.*, II, pp. 59-60 and figs.; M. Borgatti, *Castel Sant'Angelo in Roma,* (1966), pp. 126-133 and figs.; pp. 200-212 and figs.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC SCULPTURE:

GODS

Antinous (see also Addenda)

96. ANTINOUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

England, private collection. Marble. H.: 0.59 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style; antique head on a modern bust. Found in 1771 at Hadrian's villa by Hamilton.

Just as in the Greek world Antinous was assimilated after his death to Dionysus, in the Egyptian he was believed to be an Osiris. Both gods were symbols of youth and resurrection, and, in Egypt, the dead man was to become a living Osiris. For Antinous, a new iconographic formula was created in Egypt: Antinous-Osiris was represented in the garb of a pharaoh. On the obelisk erected at his cenotaph at Rome (no. 86), Antinous is seen in his Egyptian form, facing Amon-Re and Thoth. The prototype of the Egyptian Antinous was spread mostly in Rome, and particularly in Hadrian's villa at Tibur.

Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 446, no. 38; P. Marconi, in *Monumenti antichi*, XXIX, (1923), p. 192, no. 81; Christie's sale catalogue,

(5 March 1930), p. 66, no. 101; C. C. Vermeule, in *American Journal of Archeology*, LIX, (1955), p. 131; C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, (1966), p. 16. note 3 (8).
We know of two statues of the Egyptian Antinous which come from Egypt: a standing statue in the British Museum; and a head in the Albertinum at Dresden.

97. ANTINOUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

England, Deepdene collection, (cat. Michaelis) no. 28. Marble. H.: 0.67 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style. Bust.

Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 288, no. 28; P. Marconi, in *Monumenti antichi*, XXIX, (1923), p. 192, no. 79; C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, (1966), p. 16, note 3 (7).

98. ANTINOUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (figs. 116-117).

Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl. W.A.F. 24. Greek red marble, "rosso antico". H.: 2.26 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style. Standing figure of Antinous as a pharaoh, cut in red marble to imitate some Egyptian dark stone (restored).

In view of the style of the figure, its contraposto, and the nature of the restorations, one may identify it with the limbless Antinous seen in Rome in the 16th century by Dupérac (fig. 117).

Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3854; Fürtwangler, *Glyptothek München*, p. 28, no. 27; P. Wolters, *Führer durch die Glyptothek zu München*, (1928), no. 27; P. Marconi, in *Monumenti antichi*, XXIX, (1923), p. 199, no. 103, pl. IV; E. Holm, *Das Bildniss des Antinous*, (1933), p. 28; R. West, *Römische Porträt-Plastik*, (1941), II, p. 141, no. 11, pl. 37; C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, (1966), p. 16, note 3 (2); F. de La Maza, *Antinoo, el ultimo dios del mundo clásico*, (1966), pp. 343-344.

99. ANTINOUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. MA 433. White marble. H.: 0.21 m.

Roman (Hadrianic) creation, following a Ptolemaic type. The peculiar way in which the headdress is stuck on the forehead leaving a row of curls showing is a detail found as early as the colossal standing statue of (?) Alexander II in Cairo Mus. (C.G. 701). Bust.

E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, (1927), p. 29, fig. 8 and p. 302, last §, fig. 50; P. Marconi, in *Monumenti antichi*, XXIX, (1923), p. 188, no. 66; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*, no. 103, pl. 96, figs. 257-258; C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, (1966), p. 16, note 3 (6), pl. 36; F. de la Maza, *Antinoo, el ultimo dios del mundo clásico*, (1966), p. 332, pl. p. 331, fig. 41.

100. ANTINOUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 118).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 99. Parian marble. H.: 2.41 m. Hadrianic creation in Egyptianizing style. Standing statue. Found in 1740 and restored.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 307 f., no. 36; Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 309; P. Marconi, in *Monumenti antichi*, XXIX, (1923), p. 165, no. 10; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 95, no. 143, pls. LXVII, LXXII; Helbig, *Führer durch .. in Rom*, I, pp. 383-384, no. 485; C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, (1966), p. 16, note 3 (3); F. de la Maza, *Antinoo, el ultimo dios del mundo clásico*, (1966), pp. 340-343, fig. 44-44b.

101-102. "ANTINOUS TELAMONES" from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (figs. 119-120). Note the alternate positioning of the feet.

Rome, Museo Vaticano, Sala a Croce Greca, nos. 196-197. Red granite. H.: 3,35m.

Roman (Hadrianic) creations in Egyptianizing style. This pair of figures, similar to the Antinous type and crowned with large lotus-flower capitals, served as telamones in the Canopus of Tivoli. They may have been derived from similar telamones used in the Iseum Campense and shown on the Ariccia relief (fig. 20). This type of support may have been partly inspired by the Osirid pillars used in Egypt, and apparently in Egyptian shrines at Rome.

The two were found in the middle of the 15th century, and set up at the entrance of the bishop's palace at Tivoli, where artists and antiquarians were able to see them (Sangallo, Peruzzi).

D. de Rossi, *Raccolta de statue antiche e moderne..* (1704), pl. 148; Hülsen, *G. da Sangallo*, (1910), fol. 41 d-e, p. 57; H. Egger, in *Jahrb. der Kunsthist.*, XXIII, (1902), pp. 1-44, fol. 47 v.; Amelung, *Vat. Mus.*, III, 1, p. 151; P. Marconi, in *Monumenti antichi*, XXIX, (1923), p. 165, nos. 11-12; E. Holm, *Das Bildniss des Antinous*, (1933), p. 28; Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, III, 1, (1936), p. 151 f., pl. 50; R. West, *Römische Porträt-Plastik*, II, (1941), p. 140, no. 10, pl. XXXVII; Helbig, *Führer durch.. in Rom*, I, pp. 25-26, no. 30; C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, (1966), p. 16, note 3 (1a-b); F. de la Maza, *Antinoo, el ultimo dios del mundo clásico*, (1966), pp. 329-330, pl. p. 325, fig. 40.

For the Ariccia relief see above, p. 28, note 3, and p. 29. On Osirid pillars in Roman temples see: W. Weber, in *Sitzungberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, VII, (1910), pl. I, 2-3; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, II, p. 108.

103. ANTINOUS: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Museo Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo, no. 125. White marble. H.: 0.52 m. Hadrianic creation in Egyptianizing style. Bust.

Amelung, *Mus. Vat.*, I, 1, p. 128; F. de la Maza, *Antinoo, el último dios del mundo clásico*, (1966), p. 336.

Apis

104. APIS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 121).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 69. Dark granite with red veins. H.: 0.76 m. (?) Late Period (XXVIth-XXXth Dynasty).

Torso brought in 1779 by Piranesi and sold to the Museum.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. LXXVI, no. 1; Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 313, fig. 580; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 317, no. 62; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 104, no. 156, pl. LXXI.

APIS-ISIS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

See under ISIS (no. 126).

Bes

105. BES and HATHOR from PORTO (fig. 122).

Rome, Museo Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 20. Imperial porphyry. H.: 0.70 m.

Roman (Hadrianic), but presumably the work of Egyptian craftsmen. The form of the pedestal is an adaptation of a motif used for sistrum handles and, sometimes, other minor objects (cf. *Fouilles en Nubie*). A back pillar runs along the whole height of the pedestal.

P. E. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche*, (1880), p. 21, no. 20; *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche*, (1884), pl. 5, no. 20; R. Delbrück, *Antike porphyrwerke*, (1932), pp. 81-82, pl. 29 B; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, (1960), pl. XXXI d; Squarciapino, *Ostia*, p. 33; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus*, VI, (1967), p. 54, no. 2, pl. XXI (2). For the same motif on Egyptian objects, see: *Kgl. Mus. zu Berlin, Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, (1899), fig. 52, p. 251, handle of the sistrum far right, inv. no. 2767; C. Sachs, *Altägyptische Musikinstrumente*, (1920), fig. 4; idem, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, (1921), p. 34, nos. 53-54, pl. IV; E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, (1922 ed.), p. 164, fig. 72; *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie*, XXXI, (1937), pp. 211-224; G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, (1956), p. 464, § 632d, no. 2767, pl. 63e, and § 632e, no. 9710, pl. 63 l, n; *Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961)*, (1963) (published by the Service des antiquités de l'Egypte) pl. V, A; *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, (1967), p. 63, no. 713 and fig., no. 714 and fig.

106. BES from (?) ROME (fig. 123).

Present whereabouts unknown. Noted at Rome in the mid-16th century, in the office of Alessandro Corvino.

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 98, pl. 59; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 10 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3854.

107. BES from (?) ROME (fig. 124).
Present whereabouts unknown. Terracotta. Noted at Rome in the mid-16th century.

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 99, pl. 59; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 10 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3854.

108. BES from (?) ROME (fig. 125).
Present whereabouts unknown. Bronze. Noted at Rome in the mid-16th century.

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 100, pl. 59; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 10 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3854.

109. BES: Provenance unknown (fig. 126).
Palermo, Museo Nazionale. Imperial porphyry. H.: 0.71 m. Roman imitation. Probably from Rome.

R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, (1932), p. 81, pl. XXIX A.

110. BES: Provenance unknown (fig. 127).
Rome, Mus. Greg. Egizio, no. 46. Parian marble. H.: 0.87 m. Roman imitation.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 317, no. 63; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 119, no. 190, pl. LXXXI. See similar statue in G. Daressy, *Catalogue général des antiquités égypt. du musée du Caire. Statues de divinités*, (1906), I, p. 181, pl. XXXIX.

111. BES: Provenance unknown (fig. 128).
Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 48. Parian marble. H.: 0.71 m. Roman imitation (head-dress restored).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 317, no. 61; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 120, no. 191, pl. LXXI.

Harpocrates

112. HARPOCRATES: Provenance unknown (fig. 129).
Rome, Mus. Greg. Egizio, no. 109. Brown "basalt". H.: 0.55 m. (?) Roman imitation.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 306, no. 30 a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 110, no. 169, pl. LXXV.

Horus

113. HORUS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 130-131).

Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl. W.A.F.22. Black granite. H.: 1.63 m. XIXth Dynasty (the feet are restored).

Found near S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1635, and then given to the Cardinal Barberini in whose garden it stood until it was purchased, in 1815, by the Munich Glyptothek. The restoration of the feet and base with those of another Egyptian piece (a late dynastic—Ptolemaic naophorus) dates from the 18th century.

Another satue of Horus, a much smaller Roman copy, was found in 1903 in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati in Pompei (still in situ). These are the only known statues of such type from Roman Europe.

Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3847 (later hand); A. Donato, *Roma vetus ac recens*, (1638), I, pp. 74-76; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 501 (with a mistake: Kircher mentions two similar Horus); idem, *Ob. aeg.*, p. 9, fig., p. 7; J. Sandrart, *Iconologia deorum* ... (1675); idem, *Teutsche Akademie*, (1679), I, pl. IV and II, 1, p. 52; idem, *Romae antiquae et novae theatrum* ... (1684), pl. IV; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, livre 1, ch. VIII, pl. CXIX, no. 2; *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 45; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, p. 221; Furtwängler, *Glypt. München*, (1900), p. 25; *Rend. Atti Pontif. Accad. rom.*, 11, (1924), p. 107; P. Wolters, *Führer durch die Glyptothek zu München*, (1928), pl. 8, p. 8, no. 25; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 412; H. W. Müller, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates*, (1966), no. 1 and fig.

Isis

114. ISIS from ROME, Esquiline (fig. 132).

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala Castellani, no. 175. Green steatite. H.: 0.22 m. Roman imitation. The back pillar terminates under the shoulders. Found on the Esquiline in 1875.

Stuart-Jones, *Palaz. Conserv.*, p. 305, no. 21, p. 119; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 33, no. 175.

115. ISIS from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Present whereabouts unknown. Black "basalt". (?) Ptolemaic.

Found in the garden of the convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva in the 17th century, and mentioned by Pietro Sante Bartoli in 1682. Bought by Cardinal Massimo, though there is no further mention of it in reports of the collections of this family. Lafaye suggests a comparison with the colossal "basalt" Isis now in the Louvre (no. 119).

Fea, *Miscell.*, p. CCXXII, CCLXXIII (Sante Bartoli), no. 112 (Isis); Clarac, *Musée*, III, p. CCXXX, (Isis); Lanciani in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 46; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, pp. 220-221.

116. ISIS from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Present whereabouts unknown. Alabaster. Upper part restored.

Found in the Iseum Campense in the middle of the 18th century, and then in the villa Albani.

J. Winckelmann, *Storia delle arti*, (1783-84), I, p. 137; II, p. 17; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus*, VI, (1967), p. 58.

117. ISIS from ROME, marble market.

Princeton University Art Museum, no. 4884. Quartzite. H.: 0.19 m. Roman imitation.

Found on the banks of the Tiber, near the Via Marmorata.

The piece is similar to no. 127 and no. 132, with inlaid eyes and a hole in the head for a head-dress.

E. Sjöqvist, in *Record of the Art Museum. Princeton University*, XIX, (1960), pp. 87-92, figs. 1-3.

118. ISIS from ROME.

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 984. "Basalt". "Testa d'Iside in basalte proveniente da Roma".

Ruesh, *Guida ... Napoli*, p. 126, no. 358.

119. ISIS from ROME (fig. 133).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 339. Black "basalt". H.: 2.50 m.

(?) Ptolemaic-Roman (head and arms restored). The figure is a Hellenistic creation in Egyptianizing style, as seen in the stiff stance with right (!) leg forward, the position of the arms alongside the body, the closely-fitting tunic, and the back pillar which stops under the head.

Bouchard-Gravier, *Monuments égyptiens*, I, (1791), pl. 10; E. de Rougé *Notice sommaire des monuments égyptiens ... du Louvre*, (1855), p. 53.

120. ISIS from ROME (figs. 134-135).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Bronzes no. 789. Bronze. H.: 0.43 m. Roman imitation. Inlaid eyes (arms missing).

Purchased in Rome by the Chevalier Palin.

H. A. P. de Longperier, *Notice sur les bronzes du Musée du Louvre*, (1868), no. 512; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex*, p. 280, no. 56.

121. Isis from (?) Rome (figs. 136-138).

Present whereabouts unknown. Black "basalt". Ptolemaic. Inscribed.

This is a curious piece. Originally it was an Isis figure of the usual Ptolemaic "Egyptian" type, with narrow waist, heavy breasts, deep navel and the characteristic garment, a close fitting tunic with a falling knot of pleats between the breasts. At some point it was brought to Rome, and, having presumably been damaged, was extensively re-cut. The sculptor attempted to transform it by erasing the breasts, the belly and part of the back pillar and cutting into the stone new drapery with diagonal Hellenistic pleats, which produce an incongruous effect. The restoration was never finished and the figure now lacks both head and feet.

It was in Rome, in 1909, in the Casati collection.

P. Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule,* (1912), pp. 361-362, pls. LXVI, LXVII.

122. Isis from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 139).

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, Ä.S., no. 7996. Black marble. H.: 1.70 m. Roman (much restored).

Formerly in the Polignac collection, from which it passed to the Berlin Museum in 1742.

H. Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian* (1895), p. 167, (in *Jahrb. Inst.,* Supplement III.); *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Aegyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse, Berlin,* (1899), p. 326; Gusman, *Tibur,* p. 313 (with a mistake: Gusman speaks of a "bust" and gives the museum no. 7966).

123. Isis from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (figs. 140-142).

Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl. W.A.F. 26a (head), and 26b (body). Head: diorite. H.: 25.5 cm. XXXth Dynasty or Ptolemaic. Body: black granite. H.: 1.72 m. Ptolemaic (3rd century B.C.)

Found at Hadrian's villa; then in the villa Albani. The figure was put together in Antiquity (fig. 142) from two quite separate fragments, the body being that of a Graeco-Egyptian Isis (fig. 141), while the head (the nose of which is restored) belonged to a late dynastic statue of a priest (fig. 140).

J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens* (1902), I, pl. XI; Reinach, *Répertoire,* II, p. 422, no. 10; Furtwängler, *Glypt. München,* p. 30, no. 29; F. W. v. Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur,* (1914), pls. 67-68; P. Wolters, *Führer durch die Glyptothek zu München,* (1928), p. 8, no. 29; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture,* pp. 97-98, no. 77, pl. 74, figs.

192-194; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, (1961), p. 97, fig. 350; H. W. Müller, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates*, (1966), no. 91 and fig., no. 93 and fig.

124. ISIS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 143).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 57. Grey granite. H.: 0.87 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation. Isis suckling Horus.

Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 316, fig. 585; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 315, no. 55; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 102, no. 153, pl. LXIX.

125. ISIS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (figs. 144-145).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 73. White marble with dark veins. H.: 1.56 m.

Roman (? Alexandrian) creation. Colossal bust. Found, probably in the 16th century, in the Palaestra of Hadrian's villa, and mentioned in 1568 in an inventory of the Este-Ferrara gardens on the Quirinal. Drawn by Dupérac (fig. 145), dal Pozzo, and Pighius.

This type of bust may have been derived from the widely circulated coins with busts of the Alexandrian deities.

Cod. Pighianus, Vatican, fol. 6 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3851; Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, Windsor*, no. 8857, 8858; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, II, p. 111; Amelung, *Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 675, no. 547, pl. 72; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 101, no. 24; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 101, no. 152.

126. ISIS-APIS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 146).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 78. Black marble with veins. H.: 0.50 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style.

Double-faced herm (the lotus flower is modern). Found on the Canopus of Hadrian's villa under Benedict XIV (1740-1758). For double faced Egyptianizing creations in Roman times see also the Canopic jar on one of the columns of the Iseum Campense (fig. 45).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 310, no. 46; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 103, no. 155; pl. LXXI.

127. ISIS from (?) TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 147).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 85. Black "basalt". H.: 0.23 m. Ptolemaic. Torso.

The piece is similar to no. 117 and no. 132, with inlaid eyes.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 310, no. 42 b; Botti-Romanelli, *M.E.G.*, p. 111, no. 170, pl. LXXI.

128. Isis from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 148).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 92. Black and white marble. H.: 1.56 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style.

Found on the Canopus of Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 309, no. 40; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 100, no. 150, pl. LXX.

129. Isis from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 149).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 106. Black and white marble. H.: 1.53 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style (restored).

Found on the Canopus of Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 307, no. 32; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 100, no. 149, pl. LXX.

130. Isis from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 150).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 107. Black "basalt". H.: 1.43 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation of a Ptolemaic type of the first century B.C. (see also no. 133).

Found on the Canopus of Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 306, no. 31 b; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 99, no. 148, pl. LXIX; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, I, p. 383, no. 483. On this type see: B. H. Stricker, in *Oud. Med.*, XLI, (1960), pp. 18-30; and a bronze statuette of Isis in Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 65.

131. Isis-Fortuna from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 151).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 114. Black "basalt". H.: 1.29 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation of a Ptolemaic type.

Found at Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 305, no. 28 a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 97, no. 147, pl. LXVIII. For the type, see: Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*, no. 113.

132. Isis from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Museo Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 19. Black granite. H.: 0.59 m. Ptolemaic.

The piece is similar to no. 117 and no. 127.

P. E. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche,* (1880), p. 21, no. 19; *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche,* (1884), pl. V, no. 19; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), p. 54, no. 1, pl. XXI (1).

133. Isis from (?) Tivoli, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 546. Granite. L.: 0.42 m. (?) Roman (Hadrianic) imitation of a Ptolemaic type.

The fragment (feet only) is very similar to no. 130.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 546; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), pp. 93-94, no. 18.

134. Isis from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 152).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style.

Found in Hadrian's villa and mentioned by Rossi in 1704, at which time it was already lost. The figure apparently crushed a frog with her right foot.

D. de Rossi, *Raccolta de statue antiche e moderne...,* (1704), pl. 149.

135. Isis: Provenance unknown (fig. 153).

Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, no. 64160. Grey-green diorite. H.: 0.60 m. Roman imitation.

Standing figure (? Isis) with a low back pillar in the shape of an obelisk. The unusual pattern of head-dress is quite un-Egyptian. The left hand holds a lotus blossom.

It was given to the museum by Edward E. Ayer in 1914. There is no further information on the piece.

136. Isis: Provenance unknown (figs. 154-155).

Mariemont (Belgium), Musée, no. E.51 (coll. Waroqué no. 130). Granite. H.: 1.41 m. (?) Roman imitation of a Ptolemaic type.

Presumably from Italy. Its style is very close to no. 130.

Les antiquités égyptiennes ... du Musée de Mariémont, (1952), p. 32, E. 51 (130), pl. 8; F. W. v. Bissing, in *Der Alte Orient,* XXXIV, (1936), pl. 3 (7).

137. Isis: Provenance unknown (fig. 156).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 110. Alabaster. H.: 0.31 m. Roman imitation (damaged). Isis suckling Horus.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 309, no. 38 a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 103, no. 154, pl. LXX.

138. Isis: Provenance unknown (fig. 157).

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) Roman imitation of a Hellenistic Isis.

Statuette in a stiff attitude, with close-fitted tunic.

In England, at Ince Blundell Hall, until 1961.

Engravings ... in the Collection of Henry Blundell, (1809), pl. 33, 3; B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, (1929), p. 29, no. 53.

Min

139. Min from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 158).

Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl. W.A.F. 32. Black marble from the Apennines. H.: 1.57 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation (the head is restored).

Found at Hadrian's villa; then in the Villa Albani. Few pieces are more characteristic of the Hadrianic manner of interpreting Egyptian originals. The powerful ithyphallic god of fertility has been reduced, here, to a sort of hermaphrodite, an effeminate youth with soft rounded contours.

Furtwängler, *Glypt. München*, pp. 36-37, no. 36; P. Wolters, *Führer durch die Glyptothek zu München*, (1927), p. 9, no. 36; H. W. Müller, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates*, (1966), no. 101 and fig.

Nile

140. (?) Nile: Provenance unknown (fig. 159).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 97. Dove-coloured marble. H.: 1.09 m. Roman (? Hadrianic) creation.

The execution of the kilt is similar to that of no. 100. There does not seem to be any Egyptian parallel for a Nile god standing with his arms along his body: they usually present some sort of offering, when in the round, or are engaged in the "Union of the Two Lands", when in relief. It is possible that the stance of the piece was inspired by a faience-figure of Nefertem (who wears a lotus bloom on his head) and might have been confused with a Nile god as seen on representation of the "Union of the Two Lands". This statue illustrates the importance that was given to the great

Egyptian river in any evocation of Egypt or its cults in Roman times. The Nile is present in many forms: Nilotic landscapes, representations of the actual river (canal), representations of the river-god (whether Hellenistic or Egyptianizing as is here the case), and adoration of the sacred water of the river.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 308, no. 38; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 105, no. 157, pl. LXXII; A. Hermann, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 2, (1959), p. 32, pl. III b; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, I, p. 384, no. 486.

Osiris

141-142. Pair of "Osiris" from Tivoli, Villa di Cassio (figs. 160-161).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, nos. 33, 117. Grey granite with white flecks. No. 33: H.: 1.50 m. No. 117: H.: 1.57 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitations, probably of a terracotta type. Standing figures (restored). Found in 1773-75 in the Villa di Cassio.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 305, no. 28; p. 320, no. 69; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 97, nos. 144-145, pl. LXVIII. For the type of headdress on terracotta figures see: E. Breccia, *Terracotte figurate ... del Museo di Alessandria*, (1930-1934), II, pl. XXXVIII.

143. "Osiris" from Tivoli, Villa di Cassio (fig. 162).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 53. Grey granite with white flecks. H.: 0.72 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation, probably of a terracotta type. Torso (restored). Purchased in 1779 by Piranesi (G. Battista's son).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 315, no. 58; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 97, no. 146, pl. LXVIII. For the type of headdress on terra-cotta figures, see: E. Breccia, *Terracotte figurate ... del Museo di Alessandria*, (1930-1934), II, pl. XXXVIII.

Osiris Canopus

144a. Osiris Canopus from Monte Circeo, Domitian's villa (figs. 66, 163, 215).

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia (Cat. Visconti), no. 691. Green "basalt". H.: 0.53 m. (?) Roman (temp. Domitian).

Noted and drawn at the very end of the 16th century by van Aelst, author of the illustrations of von Hohenburg's *Thesaurus*. In the 18th century the statue was purchased for the Albani Collection.

For Osiris Canopus and its origin, see no. 145.

Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum,* (c. 1608), fig. nos. 62-65; Kircher, *Oed. Aeg.*, III, fig. I on plate between pp. 434 and 435; J. J. Preissler MS., (c. 1725), photo in the Brooklyn Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities; A. Gordon, *An Essay towards explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures...*, (1737), pl. VIII; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, II, 2, livre 1, ch. 18, pl. CXXXII, no. 1; De la Chausse, *Le grand cabinet romain,* (1766), pl. p. 62; Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, II, pp. 26-27, pl. VI nos. 2-3; Roccheggiani, *Raccolta,* I, pl. LXXXIII, no. 3; D. Magnan, *La ville de Rome ...* (1778) col. 60, and figs. 47-48; J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens,* (1802), I, pls. XV-XVI; Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 691; S. Curto in *Oriens Antiquus,* VI, (1967), pp. 63-66, no. 2, pl. XXII.

144b. OSIRIS CANOPUS from ROME, Isiac shrine on the Esquiline.

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Galleria Superiore IV, no. 3. White marble. H.: 0.16 m. Roman (? of Alexandrian workmanship).

The fragment was found in 1882 on the Esquiline.

For Osiris Canopus and its origin, see no. 145.

Bull. Com., X, (1882), p. 244, no. 2; Stuart-Jones, *Palaz. Conserv.*, p. 300, no. 3, pl. 119.

145. OSIRIS CANOPUS from (?) ROME, Iseum Campense.

Present whereabouts unknown. Green stone. Head only. Noted at Rome in the 16th century in the palace of Cardinal Carpi near the Minerva.

The problem of the origin of Osiris Canopus is complex and has never been solved. The Hellenistic town of Canopus in Egypt was the old town of Peguati, which the Greeks believed to have been the landing point of Paris and Helen in Egypt, then of Menelaus and his helsman Canopus who supposedly died there. A mausoleum and a town would have been built on the site which took his name (E. Panofsky, in *Gazette des beaux-arts,* LVII, (1961), pp. 193-196). It was there that Ptolemy III Euergetes I dedicated a temple of the Alexandrian Osiris, at a time when official attention turned away from the purely Hellenistic Serapis towards more Egyptian forms of cult. The Osiris of Canopus was soon named "Canopus" after the town. It appears that, in the first century B.C., this Osiris was given the strange shape of a jar with a human head, a new iconographical formula which could derive from the usual mummy shape of Osiris (A. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion,* (1909), p. 246; B. H. Stricker, in *Oud. Med.*, XXIV, (1943), pp. 1-10). On his head, Osiris usually wears a large crown; his jar-like body is half-covered with a large pectoral and representations of gods, and he stands on a sort of wreath which surrounds the bottom of the jar. Osiris Canopus seems to have assumed an essential place in the Egyptian cults in Roman times. The god was found on a pedestal at the feet of the Isis statue in the Serapeum of Luxor, and two of them were on the same bench as the Isis in the small Iseum of Ras es-Soda (both temples being creations of the second century A.D.). This confirms that Osiris Canopus was closely associated with Isis. In Italy, the sight of an Osiris Canopus carried along by a priest, in the processions or for the ritual of the Isiac cult, was common enough to be represented on the columns of the Iseum Campense (nos. 16-19) and on a relief (no. 51). It is to be noted that, on most if not all these reliefs, the so-called Osiris Canopus are in fact often confused with canopic jars. It is possible that the Roman Isiac clergy used both types without distinction. Statues of priests holding an Osiris Canopus have survived both in Egypt, and in Italy (Benevento, Museo del Sannio, no. 284, 288). The Osiris Canopus of the Iseum Campense must have stood inside the cella, together with the statue of Isis.

Aldrovandi, *Statue,* (1562), p. 203; Boissard, *Top.* I, p. 108.

146. OSIRIS CANOPUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 164).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 39. Grey "basalt". H.: 0.39 m. Roman (Hadrianic) copy.

Found in the Canopus of Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

For Osiris Canopus and its origin, see no. 145.

Bottarius, *Museum capitolinum,* (1755), III, p. 147, pl. LXXXIII; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 318, no. 66; E. Breccia, *Le rovine ei monumenti di Canopo,* (1926), p. 63, pl. XXIX, 6; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 123, no. 200, pl. LXXXIV; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom,* I, pp. 389-390, no. 493.

147. OSIRIS CANOPUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Present whereabouts unknown. Green "basalt". Roman (? of Alexandrian workmanship). In the Museo Borgiano in 1814.

The head only survives, with a large crown. "Frammento di testa maschile imberbe, di fattezze minute, stile e lavoro como quello dei

Canopi di Villa Albani e di Campidoglio, opera egizia dei tempi greci o romani ... Notabile massimamente e forse unica è la berretta, la quale girando con un rialzo intorno la fronte, e facendo un pizzo fra l'occhio e l'orecchio perde dietro l'orecchio l'indizio del suo orlo: intorno sopra la fronte, e sopra la cervice, è ornata di un rilievo di vipere mammose, erette e coronate di globi ... la berretta è rotta ... questa testa proviene dalla Villa Adriana di Tivoli." (*Doc. ined.*)

For Osiris Canopus and its origin, see no. 145.

Documenti inediti, I, p. 343, no. 241.

148. OSIRIS CANOPUS: Provenance unknown (fig. 165).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 36. Black "basalt". H.: 0.34 m. Roman (the front portion restored).

For Osiris Canopus and its origin, see no. 145.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 319, no. 68; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 122, no. 199, pl. LXXXIV.

Ptah

149. PTAH from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 166).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 45. Grey stone with white patches and veins. H.: 1.55 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation (restored).

Found on the Canopus of Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 318, no. 65; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 107, no. 163, pl. LXXIV.

Sekhmet

150. SEKHMET from (?) ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 167-170).

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (Cat. Visconti), no. 562. Black granite. H.: 2 m. XIXth Dynasty (temp. Ramesses II) from the temple of Mut at Thebes. Inscribed. Standing statue.

The piece was acquired in the 16th century by Cardinal Cesi and stood, rather damaged, in his gardens at Rome. Curto supposes that the statue comes from Tivoli. In fact there were other Egyptian pieces, from the Iseum Campense, in the Cesi gardens, and the Sekhmet is more likely to come from this temple in Rome. Maarten v. Heemskerck reproduced the statue faithfully, but both Lambert Lombard (fig. 167) and Pirro Ligorio (fig. 168) attempted in their sketches to restore it, basing their ideas on the Tivoli telamones.

The *Codex Ursinianus* reproduced the hieroglyphic text with sufficient precision for us to identify it with the Torlonia Sekhmet (fig. 169). The legs below the knees, and most of the arms and sceptre are restored (fig. 170).

Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*, I, fol. 33 r.; Lambert Lombard, album d'Arenberg, fol. 63; Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 66, pl. 35a; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 5 r., 9 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3853 and 3865; Boissard, *Top.*, 1, p. 8; J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens*, (1802), I, pl. IX; Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia*, (1870), no. 562; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 30, no. 112; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus*, VI, (1967), pp. 82-84, figs. 4, 5, 9, pl. XXI, and bibliography.

151. SEKHMET-WENUT from (?) ROME (figs. 171-175).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 4535. Grey granite. H.: 0.66 m. XXVIth Dynasty, from Hermopolis. Inscribed. Seated figure.

This statue, characterized by the square base and the peculiar uraeus on the sun-disk (restored in antiquity or in the Renaissance), was drawn at the very end of the 16th century by van Aelst for the *Thesaurus* of von Hohenburg (fig. 175). At the beginning of the 17th century it was in the Borghese collection. Like that of van Aelst, Pignorius's engraving of it shows some of the hieroglyphs on the base, including the 𓃹 wn of wnwt (Pignorius's engraving was based on a drawing of G. Aleandro executed around 1625).

Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 41; L. Pignorius, *Mensa isiaca*, (1669), fig. p. 66; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, Livre 1, ch. XV, pl. CXXVI, no. 7; Saint-Non, *Recueil de griffonnis*, (1763), pl. 80; *Sculture del palazzo della villa Borghese detta Pinciana*, (1796), part. II, Stanza VIII, no. 8 and pl.; J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens*, (1802), I, p. 116; Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 305 (2544); J. Vandier, *Musée du Louvre. Guide sommaire du département des antiquités égyptiennes*, (1961), p. 71, line 10 f.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC SCULPTURE:

KINGS AND QUEENS

Pharaohs

152. PHARAOH from Monte Circeo, Domitian's villa (fig. 176).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 101. African lumachella.

H.: 1.16 m. Roman (temp. Domitian); standing figure (head-dress restored).

Found in 1771 among the ruins of Domitian's villa on the Baia d'Argento near Sabaudia.

Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 983, no. 2536; Marucchi, *M.V.E.*, p. 307, no. 34; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 106, no. 161, pl. LXXIII.

153. PHARAOH from ROME, Gardens of Sallust (fig. 177).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 27. Red granite. H.: 2.40 m. Ptolemaic (Ptolemy II), from Heliopolis. Inscribed. Standing figure.

Found in 1710 in the villa Verospi.

Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, livre 1, ch. IV, pl. CVII, no. 1; P. Righetti, *Descrizione del Campidoglio*, (1836), II, p. 43, pl. CCXXXVIII; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 29 f., no. 12; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, IV, p. 63; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, pp. 24-25, no. 32, pl. XXII, XXIII; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*, pp. 98, 122, 126, 128; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, I, p. 382, no. 482c; H. W. Müller, in *Studi in memoria di I. Rossellini*, (1955), II, p. 210, pl. XXVII.

154a. (?) PHARAOH from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 178).

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 933. Diorite. H.: 0.50 m. Ptolemaic. Colossal head in Hellenistic style.

O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* (Publications de la glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, no. 3), (1950), p. 73, (132), pls. 138-139; idem, in *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*, no. 44, (December 1965), pp. 10-12, figs. 2, 3, 4; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*, p. 133.

154b. PHARAOH from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 179-180).

Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 8607. Grey granite. H.: 0.69 m. XIIth Dynasty (Ammenemes III).

The torso only survives. It belongs to an offering figure, fragments of which were in the Pantheon in the 16th century. Ligorio saw them and tried in his sketch to depict the statue as he thought it had been originally. Though his interpretation is remote, the drawing still shows the characteristic fish along the legs and also the curious beard which Ligorio thought was a sort of cloth (fig. 180). When purchased by the Ludovisi family in the 17th century, the piece was presumably trimmed off as a bust. In Boissard's Anubis pedestal (*Antiq. Rom.*, II, (VI), pl. 78), the cloth framing the heads of Serapis and Apis is perhaps a reminiscence of this piece.

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 68, pl. 35a; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 9 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3853; Rossini, *Mercurio errante*, (1693), I, p. 91; Pinarolo, *L'antichità di Roma*, (1713), II, p. 16; Ficoroni, *Le vestigia di Roma antica*, (1744), II, p. 66; F. Lenormant, in *Bull. Com.*, (1877), p. 100 f., pl. 9; T. Schreiber, *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi inRom*, (1880), no. 99; G. Farina, in *Ausonia*, IX, (1919), p. 1; Paribeni, *Mus. Naz. Romano*, no. 44; S. Aurigemma, *Les thermes de Dioclétien et le Musée National Romain*, (1947), Collection Ludovisi, pp. 53-54, bust p. 54, no. 8607; J. Capart, *Les monuments dits Hycsos*, (1914). For this type of monument see: L. Borchardt, *Catalogue général du musée du Caire*, 11, nos. 392, 395, 396, 531, 550; Leibovitch, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XII, (1953), pp. 73-113.

155. PHARAOH from ROME, Iseum in Regio III (fig. 181).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 2. White marble. H.: 0.24 m. Roman imitation. Head only.

Found in the Via Merulana, in 1875, near SS. Pietro e Marcellino, and therefore presumably from the Iseum in Regio III.

Bull. Com., 1875, p. 245; Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Capit.*, p. 358, no. 7, pl. 90, no. 7; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 24, no. 2.

156. PHARAOH from ROME, Temple of the Syrian triad on the Janiculum (fig. 182).

Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 60921. Black "basalt". H.: 1.30 m. Ptolemaic. Standing figure.

Found in the 4th century sanctuary of the Syrian triad, where it stood in a niche above some tombs, having presumably been mistaken for a statue of Osiris, god of resurrection. For the links between Osiris and the Syrian triad, see above, p. 41.

NSc, (1909), pp. 398-400, and fig.; G. Nicole-G. Darier, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, (Ecole française de Rome), XXIX, (1909), pp. 14, 17-18, 45-48, pl. VI et figs. 24-25; P. Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule*, (1912), pp. 187-190, pl. XXVI; G. Farina, in *Ausonia*, IX, (1919), pp. 9-10 (9), fig. 5; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, pp. 413-414; B. M. Felletti Maj, in *Bull. Com.*, LXXV, (1953-1955), pp. 137-162; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*, p. 142.

157. PHARAOH from ROME, Palatine.

Present whereabouts unknown. Green "basalt". H.: 1.085 m; base: L.: 0.23 m. XIXth Dynasty (probably Ramesses II). Inscribed. Seated figure.

Fragment of throne found in 1893, on the site of Augustus' house on the Palatine.

NSc, (1893), p. 359; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413.

158. PHARAOH from ROME, Quirinal (?) Serapeum (fig. 183).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 15. Grey granite. H.: 0.18 m; base: L.: 0.47 m; W.: 0.25m. XIXth Dynasty (Ramesses II), probably from Heliopolis. Inscribed. Kneeling statue.

The lower part was found in 1882 near the Palazzo delle Esposizioni in the Via Nazionale, and was perhaps therefore part of the decoration of the Serapeum on the Quirinal.

Fabiani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1882), p. 191; Stuart-Jones, *Museo Capit.*, p. 356, no. 1, pl. 90, no. 1; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, pp. 13, 14, 15, no. 15; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413.

159. PHARAOH from ROME (fig. 184).

Rome, Museo Barracco, no. 32. Granite. H.: 0.16 m. Ptolemaic. Eyes formerly inlaid.

Head found in the Tiber.

G. Barracco-W. Helbig, *La collection Barracco*, (1893), p. 16, pl. 10; F. W. v. Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, (1914), pp. 103-104, note 7; C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco di scultura antica*, (1963), p. 57.

160. PHARAOH from ROME (fig. 185).

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 1037. Green "basalt". H.: 0.32 m. XXVth Dynasty (Shabaka) from Karnak. Inscribed. Seated statue.

Found in Rome. The head was restored presumably in the late Renaissance (17th century).

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta*, (1870), no. 1037; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus*, VI, (1967), pp. 58-63, no. 1, and bibliography.

161. PHARAOH from (?) ROME (figs. 186-187).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman copy. Noted at Rome in the mid-16th century in the vineyard of Cardinal Carpi (fig. 186). Then reproduced by Claude Ménestrier (end 17th century-beginning 18th century) (fig. 187).

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 67, pl. 35a; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 9 v; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3853; C. Ménestrier, Vat. Lat. 10545, fol. 114 ("in aedibus Sphortiae olim hort. Carpen.").

162. PHARAOH from ROME (fig. 188).

Present whereabouts unknown. Red granite. Torso found in Rome, in the Trastevere.

It was in England at Ince Blundell Hall until 1961.

Engravings ... in the Collection of H. Blundell Esq., (1809), pl. 45, 1; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 356, no. 61. B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles of Ince Blundell Hall*, (1929), p. 30, no. 61.

163-164. 2 PHARAOHS from TIVOLI, Villa di Cassio (figs. 189-190).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, nos. 71, 82. Grey granite with white patches and veins. H.: 1.30 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitations. Latin inscriptions.

Standing figures. Both have been restored, no. 82 in antiquity and no. 71 since its discovery. Found in the Villa di Cassio in 1773-1774.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 310, no. 44, p. 312, no. 51; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 106, nos. 158-159, pl. LXXIII.

165. PHARAOH from TIVOLI, Villa di Cassio (fig. 191)

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 103. Dark granite with red and white parches. H.: 1.20 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation. Standing figure (heavily restored).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 307, no. 33; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 416; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 107, no. 162, pl. LXXV.

166. PHARAOH from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (figs. 192-193).

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, no. 14764. Grey granite. H.: 1.20 m. (?) Ptolemaic.

In the Sciarra collection in the 17th century (fig. 193).

Kircher, *Oed .aeg.*, III, p. 488; A. Erman, in *ZÄS*, XXXVIII, (1900), p. 115 (left); Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, pp. 416-417.

167a. PHARAOH from (?) TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 194).

Madrid, Museo del Prado, no. 412 E. Black granite. H.: 0.98 m. XXXth Dynasty (Nectanebo II). Inscribed.

Kneeling figure the upper part of which has been restored apparently both in antiquity and in modern times.

It was at Rome in the 17th century, in the collection of Queen Christine of Sweden, in the Palazzo Riaro. The collection, bequeathed to the Duke of Bracciano, was bought in 1724 by Philip of Spain for the royal collection of the Granja de S. Ildefonso, later transferred to the Prado by Isabel II.

Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 998, 2559 B; E. Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid*, (1862), no. 1; R. Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, (1858), p. 673, pl. 50;

R. Blanco y Caro, *Un recuerdo del último faraón en el Museo del Prado. Notas arqueológicas y epigráficas,* (1924); E. Tormo, in *Boletin de la Sociedad española de excursiones,* LXVIII, (1944), p. 65 f. and fig.; idem, *Museo del Prado. Catalogo de las esculturas,* (1949), no. 61; A. Blanco, *Catalogo de la escultura. Museo del Prado,* (1957), pp. 126-127, pl. LXXXI; J. Leclant, in *Orientalia,* XXVIII, (1959), p. 86, no. 1. For the collections of Queen Christine, see: F. Boyer, in *Revue archéologique,* XXXV, (1932), pp. 254-267.

167b. PHARAOH from (?) TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 195).
Madrid, Museo del Prado, no. 413 E. Black "basalt". H.: 0.54 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style. Bust.

Ajello, *San Ildefonso. Palacio de la Granja,* 10, 135; E. Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid,* (1862), no. 85; E. Tormo, in *Boletin de la Sociedad española de excursiones,* LXVIII, (1944), pp. 91-92 and 2 figs.; A. Blanco, *Catalogo de la escultura. Museo del Prado,* (1957), p. 127, no. 413 E, pl. LXXX.

168-169. Pair of PHARAOHS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (figs. 196-197). Note the alternate positioning of the feet.
Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl. W.A.F. 14, 15. Grey Italian marble. No. 14: H.: 1.58 m. No. 15: H.: 1.59 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitations. Standing figures (both restored).
Found at Tivoli and removed to the Villa Albani, then to Munich.

Furtwängler, *Glypt. München,* p. 22, nos. 20, 21; P. Wolters, *Führer durch die Glyptothek zu München,* (1928), p. 8, nos. 20-21; H. W. Müller, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staats,* (1966), nos. 99-100 and fig.

170. PHARAOH from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 198).
Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl. W.A.F. 27. Red granite. H.: 1.46 m. (?) Late Ptolemaic or Roman. Standing male figure.

Furtwängler, *Glypt. München,* p. 32, no. 30; P. Wolters, *Führer durch die Glyptothek zu München,* (1928), p. 9, no. 30; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.,* VII, p. 417 (where it is mentioned as a "priest").

171. PHARAOH from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 199).
Stockholm, National Museum, no. E 67 (dep. i Medelhavsmuseet). Black granite. H.: 0.39 m. (?) Ptolemaic. Torso re-cut and set as a herm at Tivoli.
Probably found on the site in the 18th century; given by Giovanni Battista Piranesi.

P. Lugn, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden,* (1922), pp. 4-5, pl. 3; E. Kjellberg, *Nationalmusei årsbok,* II, no. 42, p. 163; (Stockholm) *5.000 år egyptisk konst* (1961), p. 125 (226).

172. PHARAOH from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 200).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation. Standing figure.

Found damaged at Tivoli and recorded by Rossi in 1704, at which time it was already lost.

De Rossi, *Raccolta de statue antiche e moderne...,* (1704), pl. CL.

173. PHARAOH: Provenance unknown.

Rome, formerly in the Gardens of the Palazzo Barberini. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

"Kolossal. Die (nackte, männliche) Figur ruht auf dem r. Beine, der l. Fuss ist vorgesetzt. Um die Hüften ist der gewöhnliche Schurz geschlagen; über die Schultern fallen die Enden der sogenannten Calantica herab. Neben dem r. Schenkel bemerkt man einen Palm-stamm ("intorno al cui piede s'avvolge un serpe a collo grosso, alzando la testa ed appoggiando la schiena al tronco", Zoega)." (Matz-v. Duhn). Evidently an Antinous (see Addenda).

Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke,* I, no. 1578.

174. PHARAOH: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 540. Red granite. H.: 1.00 m. (?) Ptolemaic or Roman.

The statue, badly damaged, must have been found in Rome rather than brought in such a state from Egypt in the 18th century. It is now in the "Sotterraneo del Caffè" of the Villa, among pieces which presumably all come from Hadrian's villa (Curto).

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 540; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), p. 93, no. 15.

175. PHARAOH: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 545. Marble. H.: 0.25 m. Roman imitation. The head and torso only survive.

This fragment is now in the "Sotterraneo del Caffè" of the Villa Albani.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 545; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), p. 93, no. 16.

176. PHARAOH: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 551. Black "basalt". H.: 1.73 m. XXVIth Dynasty (Amasis) from Elephantine. Inscribed. Standing figure.

The statue, very damaged before its restoration, must have been found in Rome, rather than brought from Egypt in such a state in the 18th century.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 551; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), pp. 66-74, no. 3, and bibliography.

177. PHARAOH: Provenance unknown (fig. 201).

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 558. Black granite. H.: 2.83 m. Ptolemaic (Ptolemy II). Inscribed. Standing figure.

The statue, broken in several places, must have been found in Rome, rather than brought from Egypt in such a state in the 18th century.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 558; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), pp. 74-82, no. 4, and bibliography.

178. PHARAOH: Provenance unknown.

Present whereabouts unknown. "Basalt". H.: c. 1.80 m. (?) Late Period (XXVIth-XXXth Dynasty) or Ptolemaic. Inscribed. Standing figure.

The head, in green basalt, was restored in antiquity: "La testa antica, ma riportata, è die basalte verdiccio, e si copre di un berretto tondo a striscie."

It was in the Borghese collection on the Pincio in the 18th century.

Sculture del palazzo della villa Borghese detta Pinciana, (1796), Part II, p. 76, no. 3, and pl.

Queens

179. QUEEN from ROME, Gardens of Sallust (fig. 202).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 22. Black granite. H.: 3 m. XIXth Dynasty (Tuia, Queen of Sethos I). Inscribed. Standing statue (feet and base restored).

Found in 1710 in the Villa Verospi.

Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, livre 1, ch. IV, pl. CVII, no. 3; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 42 f., no. 17; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413; Botti-

Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, pp. 18-21, no. 28, pls. XIX-XXII; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, I, p. 382.

180. QUEEN from ROME, Gardens of Sallust (fig. 203).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 25. Red granite. H.: 2.40 m. Ptolemaic (Arsinoe, Queen of Ptolemy II). Inscribed. Standing figure.

Found in 1710 in the Villa Verospi.

Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, livre 1, ch. IV, pl. CVII, no. 2; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 30 f., no. 14; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, pp. 22-23, no. 31, pls. XXII, XXIII, XXIV; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, IV, p. 63; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*, pp. 121, 125, 126, 128, 135, 159.

181. QUEEN from ROME, Gardens of Sallust (fig. 204).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 29. Red granite. H.: 2.40 m. Roman copy (? late 1st-early 2nd century A.D.), but probably the work of Egyptian craftsmen. Garbled hieroglyphs. Standing figure.

Found in 1710 in the Villa Verospi, together with the statue of Arsinoe (no. 180) of which it is a faithful duplicate.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 28 f., no. 10; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, pp. 25-26, no. 33, pls. XXII, XXIII.

182. QUEEN from ROME, Iseum in Regio III (fig. 205).

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Museo Nuovo, Sala IV, no. 354. Greek marble. H.: 0.395 m. Ptolemaic (? 2nd century B.C.).

Found in a wall near SS. Pietro e Marcellino in 1887 with some other fragments of representations of Egyptian gods. The fragment, a female head with an Egyptian headdress, is of Hellenistic inspiration and may perhaps be a portrait.

Bull. Com., XV, (1887), pp. 133-134; XXV, (1897), pp. 118-119, pl. VIII; R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, (1899), pp. 42-43; Stuart-Jones, *Palaz. Conserv.*, pp. 63 and 64, no. 1, pl. 16; D. Mustilli, *Museo Mussolini*, (1939), pp. 73-74, no. 16, pl. XLVI; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, II, pp. 495-497, no. 1714 (and further bibliog.).

183. QUEEN from (?) ROME (fig. 206).

Present whereabouts unknown. Head and torso only.

Noted at Rome in the 16th century.

B. Peruzzi, Siena MS. (Biblioteca Comunale), fol. 47 v.

184. QUEEN from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 207).

(?) Berlin. Green "basalt". Roman imitation. Standing figure.

Found at Tivoli, then bought by the owner of the Villa Alticchiero near Padova.

Countess J. W. C. de Rosenberg, *Alticchiero*, (1787), pp. 46-47, pl. XX.

185. QUEEN: Provenance unknown.

Present whereabouts unknown. "Basalt". Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

B. Leplat, *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden*, (1733), pl. 150.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC SCULPTURE:

PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS

Block-statue

186. BLOCK STATUE from (?) ROME (figs. 208-215).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. N 93. Black granite. H.: 0.47 m. (?) XXVth-XXVIth Dynasty. Inscribed. The feet are restored.

First noted at Rome in the mid-16th century, when it was in the collection of Gentile Delfini who bought it from a Monsignore Agnolo. In the 17th and 18th centuries it was in the palace of the Cavalieri di Malta. The statue was slightly damaged (base and nose), and in the 16th century was shown in sketches or publications either restored (Ligorio (fig. 213); Dupérac) or with its actual mutilations (Boissard's Ms. (figs. 211-212) and publications). In the 17th century Herwart von Hohenburg mistook these different versions as illustrating two distinct objects, both of which he represented, one damaged, the other intact (fig. 214), and Kircher, using Herwart von Hohenburg's book, made the same mistake in his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, T. III (fig. 215). The identity of the two pieces is, however, confirmed by comparison of the inscriptions as copied.

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 94, pl. 58; *Cod. Urs.* fol. 7 v.; J. J. Boissard, Stockholm MS., S. 68, fol. 75 r and v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, nos. 3857, 3858, 3859, 26396, 26397 and 26398; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, (1562), p. 236; A. Lafreri-C. Duchet, *Speculum romanae magnificentiae*, (1579); Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 40; *Antiquitatum romanarum* ..., (1602), IV, figs. 6-7 (by Th. de Bry); Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, figs. 51, 52 and 57; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pl. between pp. 434-435, (nos. 2 and 6); Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, livre 1, ch. XVIII, pl. XCXXIII (no. 1), and XCXXIV (no. 1); E. Panofsky, in *Gazette des beaux arts*, Série 6, LVII, (1961), pp. 193-216, mainly addendum p. 209 (gives an erroneous museum number: Louvre A. 92); Saint-Non, *Recueil de griffonnis* (1793), pl. 88 (inaccurate drawing).

Naophori

187. NAOPHORUS from OSTIA, (?) Temple of Demeter-Isis.

Present whereabouts unknown. "Basalt". "Ha la misura d'un terzo del vero". (?) Late Period-Ptolemaic. Inscribed. Kneeling figure holding a naos containing Isis.

This type of ex-voto statue was certainly characteristic of temple decor, and was for that reason exported to Rome or copied to simulate an appropriate setting in the European temples to Isis or Serapis. But the meaning and purpose of such statues were unknown to the Greeks as to the Romans. It is significant that a naophorus found at Beirut bears a Greek and Latin inscription explaining "Priest bearing Osiris" (British Museum, *Introductory Guide*, (1930), p. 38; and *Guide to the 4th, 5th and 6th Eg. Rooms*, (1922), p. 133, no. 122).

C.L. Visconti, in *Diss. della Pontif. Accad. rom. de arch.*, XV, (1864), p. CXXXIV; L. Paschetto, ibidem, 2nd series, X, (1912), pp. 165 and 402, and p. 549, no. 394.

188. NAOPHORUS from ROME, Capitol.

Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 56428. Green serpentine. H.: 0.20 m. Roman imitation. Kneeling statue.

Fragment found in the Via Marforio near the Capitol.

G. Farina, in *Ausonia*, IX, (1919), pp. 8-9; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 414.

189. NAOPHORUS from ROME, Castro Pretorio.

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Magazzino, no. 547. Dark green "basalt". H.: 0.085 m. (?) Ptolemaic. Inscribed.

Fragment found in the Castro Pretorio.

Stuart-Jones, *Pal. Conserv.*, p. 302, no. 12, pl. 119; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 39, no. 547.

190. NAOPHORUS from ROME, Esquiline (fig. 216).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 4. Grey granite. H.: 0.37 m. (?) Late Period-Ptolemaic. Standing figure with back pillar of which only the lower part survives.

Stuart-Jones, *Museo Capit.*, p. 356, no. 2, pl. 90, no. 2; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, pp. 21-22; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413.

191. NAOPHORUS from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 217).

Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 5420. Black "basalt". H.: 0.60 m. XXVIth Dynasty (? temp. Amasis): Inscribed. Kneeling figure.

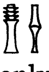
The lower part only was found in 1858 in the house of the Tranquilli near the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, I, p. 450 ,no. 1577; R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 48b; Lafaye, *Div. d'Alex.*, p. 218; E. Schiaparelli, *Catalogo generale del Museo Egizio di Firenze*, (1887), pp. 222-223, no. 1522; L. A. Milani, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, (1923), p. 119; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413.

192. NAOPHORUS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 218-219).

Present whereabouts unknown. Granite. Roman (?). Standing statue holding a naos. Upper and lower part missing.

This statue was seen at the end of the 15th century by Cronaca who noted "granitta... [illegible]...camigliano". It must have then been standing near the "Arco di Camigliano", where Pirro Ligorio saw it in the middle of the 16th century, "at the corner of a shop, by the Arco di Camigliano". It was without head and feet. Cronaca drew it as such, but Ligorio, always keen on restorations, completed it in his sketch with a female head, interpreting the rounded body with a long tunic as a columnar shaft. In neither of these two drawings is the content of the naos very clear: on Cronaca's drawing, there seem to be two objects, a ḏd pillar and a sḫm sceptre side by side:



Ligorio's drawing reproduces only the ḏd pillar.

Cronaca, MS. in Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 v.; Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 64, pl. 35; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 9 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3853; R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), pp. 41-42, note 1.

NAOPHORUS from ROME, Quirinal (?) Serapeum.
See under PHARAOHS (no. 158).

193. NAOPHORUS (?) from ROME (fig. 220).

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, no. 14765. Granite. H.: 1.23 m. XXVIIth Dynasty (? temp. Artaxerxes), from Memphis. Inscribed. Standing figure.

Restored in the early 17th century, when in the possession of the Sciarra family, at Rome. Allowing for the date of the restorations it seems likely that this statue comes from Rome.

A. Erman, in *ZÄS*, XXXVIII, (1900), pp. 114-121, fig. p. 115 (right); A. Tulli, in *Miscellanea gregoriana*, (1941), p. 217 (1), fig. 5; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413.

194. NAOPHORUS from (?) ROME (figs. 221-222).

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 1068. Black "basalt". H.: 0.98 m. (?) XXVIIth Dynasty. Inscribed. Kneeling statue.

Presumably the "idolo de parangone" mentioned in an inventory of the Farnese collection in 1568. It was noted (fig. 222) by Kircher and, in 1697, was mentioned in another inventory. When the family died out in 1731, the property passed to the son of the last Farnese female, i.e. to the King of Naples. Part of his collection including the naophorus is now in the Museo Nazionale.

Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo, Windsor*, no. 8616; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 495-496; *Real Museo Borbonico*, (1825), II, pl. 37; *Documenti inediti*, I, p. 72; II, p. 381, lines 1-2; Ruesh, *Guida ... Napoli*, p. 114, no. 325, (1068); D. Bassi, *Naples, National Museum, Guide*, (1948), no. 234.

195. NAOPHORUS from (?) ROME (figs. 223-224).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, body: no. E 25499; head: no. E 25500. Black "basalt". H.: 0.89 m. XXVIIth Dynasty. Inscribed. Kneeling statue.

Obtained from the Mazarin Collection by Lord Pembroke in c. 1698 for the collection of Wilton House. Objects from Wilton House were sold in 1961 and the naophorus was eventually purchased for the Louvre. By the early 17th century, the headless figure had been given a female head with long curls falling onto the shoulders (fig. 224) and a plaited chignon on the back of the head. When bought by the Louvre, these curls were cut off. Vandier considers this head to be Hellenistic, taken from an antique statue of Isis, though no example of such a hair-style and crown can be quoted from an Alexandrian or Roman Isis. Other instances of similar restorations (no. 198) strongly suggest that the head dates from the early 17th century.

C. Creed, *The Marble Antiquities ... of Wilton House*, (1731), pl. 19; A. Gordon, *An Essay towards Explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures ...*

(1737), pl. IX; J. Kennedy, *A Description of the Antiquities ... in Wilton House*, (1769), p. 37; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, pp. 687-688, no. 74; H. de Meulenaere, in *Revue d'égyptologie*, XII, (1960), p. 68; Christie's sales catalogue (3 July 1961), p. 21 and plate opposite, no. 101; J. Vandier, in *Revue du Louvre*, (1964), pp. 57-66, figs. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; Catalogue of the exhibition, *Vingt ans d'acquisitions au Musée du Louvre, 1947-1967*, (Paris, 1967), p. 21, nos. 82-83, fig. 82.

NAOPHORUS from (?) TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.
See under PHARAOHS, no. 166.

196. NAOPHORUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 225).
Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 140. Dark granite with reddish patches. H.: 0.81 m. XXVIth Dynasty (temp. Psammetichus II). Inscribed. Kneeling figure (upper part restored).

Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 310; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 76 f, no. 112; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 27, no. 36, pl. XXV.

197. NAOPHORUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 226).
Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 167. Green "basalt". H.: 0.66 m. XXVIth Dynasty. Inscribed. Kneeling figure. (The head was restored in the 18th century).

Gusman, *Tibur*, pl 310, fig. 566; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 63 f., no. 91; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 30, no. 38, pls. XXVI, XXXV; for the type see: Bothmer, *Late Sculpture*, no. 65.

198. NAOPHORUS from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (figs. 227-228).
Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 196. Green "basalt". H.: 0.69 m. XXVIIth Dynasty (temp. Darius). Inscribed. Standing statue.

A female head, a 17th century restoration, was subsequently removed. The body of the naophorus, a fleshy male wrapped in a long tunic, had been mistaken for a woman's. (For similar mistakes see no. 195.)

J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens*, (1802), I, pl. VIII; De Rougé, in *Revue archéologique*, VIII, (1851), pp. 37-60; Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 310; A. Tulli, in *Miscellanea gregoriana*, (1941), p. 211 f., fig. 212; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, pp. 279-280, fig. p. 282; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 32, no. 40, pls. XXVII-XXXII; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 416.

199. NAOPHORUS: Provenance unknown (fig. 229).
Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 111. Dark granite with white

patches. H.: 0.62 m. (?) Late Period (XXVI-XXXth Dynasty). Kneeling statue.

The statue is made of two pieces: the upper part could be antique, and therefore a Roman restoration. If not, the statue, of which the whole upper part was missing, was probably found in Rome—or in Hadrian's villa—rather than brought from Egypt in such a state in the 18th century (purchased in the time of Pius VI).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 305, no. 30; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 110, no. 168, pl. LXXV.

200. NAOPHORUS: Provenance unknown (fig. 230).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 166. Green "basalt". H.: 0.70 m. XXVIth-XXVIIth Dynasty. Inscribed. Kneeling statue.

The statue, of which the whole upper part was missing, was presumably found in Rome—or in Hadrian's villa—rather than brought from Egypt in such a state in the 18th century (purchased in the time of Pius VI).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 65 f., no. 92; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, pp. 28-29, no. 37, pls. XXVI, XXXV.

Offering statues

OFFERING STATUE from Rome, Iseum Campense.

See under PHARAOHS, no. 154.

201-202. Pair of OFFERING STATUES from ROME, Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine (fig. 231).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei Culti orientali, nos. 30, 32. White marble. No. 30: H.: 0.16 m. No. 32: H.: 0.27 m. Roman imitation of kneeling figures.

Found in 1935 on the site of the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine.

A. M. Colini, in *Bull. Com.*, LXIII, (1935), p. 151, no. 11; P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, (1951), p. 206, no. 212; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, pp. 32-33.

203. OFFERING STATUE from (?) ROME (fig. 218).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman?

Kneeling statue presenting a vessel. The upper part, from the waist up, is missing. It could be a Roman copy of a statue of the type of the offering Pharaoh now in Madrid (no. 167a). Noted at Rome at the end of the 15th century.

Cronaca, MS. Christ Church, Oxford, inv. 0814 v.

204. OFFERING STATUE from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 232).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 38. Black granite. H.: 0.90 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style. Standing statue (restored).

Purchased under Pius VI.

Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 312, fig. 575; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 318, no. 65a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 109, no. 166, pl. LXXIV.

205. OFFERING STATUE from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 233).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 75. Black and white marble. H.: 1.57 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style. Standing statue (restored).

Found on the Canopus of Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 311, no. 47; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 108, no. 165, pl. LXXIV.

206. OFFERING STATUE from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 234).

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style.

Found at Hadrian's villa in the 18th century. The poor drawings of Penna and Rocchegiani recall certain Egyptian kneeling figures, supporting vessels (e.g. Cairo Mus. C.G. 42.060 and 42.061).

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. XXVI, 1; Penna, *Viaggio*, IV, p. 128, 2; H. Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian* ... (1895), p. 161; Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 310, fig. 568. For this type of statue, see: G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I, (1906), pp. 36-37, pls. XXXIV, XXXV.

207. OFFERING STATUETTE: Provenance unknown (fig. 235).

Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 543. Red and yellow marble (?). H.: 0.14 m. Roman imitation. Standing statuette (restored from the waist up).

The statuette was probably a reproduction, on a reduced scale, of the Middle Kingdom type of offering pharaoh (see no. 154), presumably of the "Ludovisi" statue itself, with pendant decor of fish and strips of aquatic plants. The piece was first mentionned by Kircher in 1666, by which time the head and shoulders (of rosso antico) had been restored.

Kircher, *Ob. aeg.*, pp. 108-110; J. Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie*, (1679), I, pl. IV; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, pl. CXL, no. 10; E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, (1887), I, p. 103, no. 836 (543); F. W. v. Bissing, in *Aegyptus*, XIII, (1933), pp. 113-122, figs. 1-6.

208. OFFERING STATUE: Provenance unknown (fig. 236).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 91. Luna marble. H.: 0.53 m. Roman imitation. Kneeling statue (restored).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 306, no. 31a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 109, no. 167, pl. LXXXI.

Priests

209. PRIEST from ROME, Capitol.

Rome, Antiquarium del Comune, no. 2411. Green "basalt". H.: 0.21 m. XXIXth Dynasty, (?) from Akhmim. Inscribed.

Found in 1935 near the Bocca della Verità.

Bosticco, in *Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini*, II, (1955), pl. I, II, pp. 3-7; De Meulenaere, in *Oud. Med.*, N.R., XLIV, (1963), p. 5; K. Parlasca, in *MdI*, LXXI, (1964), p. 203, pl. 59 (3).

210. (?) PRIEST from ROME (fig. 237).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman imitation. Spurious hieroglyphs.

Found in the Tiber in 1562, and said to have been in the Capitoline Museum a few years after its discovery.

Cod. Urs. fol. 5 r.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3865; *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 33, note 2.

211. PRIEST from (?) TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 238).

Madrid, Museo del Prado, no. 414 E. Black and grey "basalt". H.: 1.70 m.

Standing figure. Only the torso and feet are antique, probably from a Roman (Hadrianic) creation. The feet belonged perhaps to the statue of a priest. The left foot is placed on a sort of crocodile, a peculiar detail which may suggest a connection with the Isis from Tivoli who steps on a frog (no. 134).

The torso of the statue belonged to a different kind of figure, maybe a pharaoh.

Ajello, *San Ildefonso, Palacio de la Granja,* I, 3; Clarac, *Musée,* pl. 998, no. 2559c; E. Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid,* (1862), no. 3; E. Tormo, in *Boletín de la Sociedad española de excursiones,* LXVIII, (1944), pp. 87-88 and 2 figs.; A. Blanco, *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de la escultura,* (1957), p. 127.

212. PRIEST from (?) TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 239).

Madrid, Museo del Prado, no. 415 E. Black "basalt". H.: 1.66 m. Standing figure. Only the torso is antique, evidently from a Roman (Hadrianic) creation.

Ajello, *San Ildefonso, Palacio de la Granja,* I, 2; Clarac, *Musée,* pl. 998, no. 2559 d; E. Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid,* (1862), no. 2; E. Tormo in *Boletín de la Sociedad española de excursiones,* LXVIII, (1944), pp. 88-91 and 2 figs.; A. Blanco, *Catalogo de la escultura, Museo del Prado,* (1957), pp. 127, 128.

PRIEST from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.
See under ISIS (no. 123).

213. PRIEST from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 59. Dark grey stone with white patches. H.: 1.60 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style. Standing figure.

Found on the Canopus of Hadrian's villa under Benedict XIV (1740-1753).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 315, no. 54; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 108, no. 164, pl. LXXIV.

214. PRIEST from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 240).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 163. Green "basalt". H.: 0.86 m. XXXth Dynasty. Inscribed. Standing figure.

Gusman, *Tibur,* p. 310, fig. 569; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 67 f., no. 93; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 41, no. 42, pls. XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI; Bothmer, *Late Sculpture,* p. 105.

Stelophori

215. STELOPHORUS from OSTIA, Serapeum.

Ostia, Museo Ostiense. Grey granite. H.: 0.13 m. Ptolemaic. Inscribed.

Found in 1941 near the Serapeum.

S. Donadoni, in *Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini*, II, (1955), pp. 59-71; J. Leclant, in *Orientalia*, XXV, (1956), p. 267, no. 8; Squarciapino, *Ostia*, p. 26, note 3.

216. STELOPHORUS from (?) ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 241).

Present whereabouts unknown. Late Period (XXVI-XXXth Dynasty) or Ptolemaic.

Noted at Rome in the mid-16th century, perhaps in the palace of Cardinal Carpi near S. Maria sopra Minerva, and still in Rome in the 17th century. The head and shoulders, and also the feet, were missing, but the lower part is falsely restored in *Codex Ursinianus*, Dupérac and Dal Pozzo.

Cod. Urs. fol. 1 r., with a piece of vase "in museo carpense"; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3859; Vermeule, *Dal Pozzo Windsor*, no. 8614; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 209 "... una cibele (sic!) de pietra negra egittiaca cioe nel modo che la facevano gli egitii ..."

ANTHROPOMORPHIC SCULPTURE:

VARIOUS

217. STATUE from OSTIA, Serapeum (fig. 242).

Ostia, Museo Ostiense, no. 208. Black "basalt".

Fragment of leg found near the entrance to the Serapeum.

Squarciapino, *Ostia*, p. 26.

218. STATUE from ROME, Capitol.

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

Fragment found c. 1940 near the Bocca della Verità.

H. Fuhrmann in *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, LV, (1940), Archäologischer Anzeiger, col. 459.

219. MAGICAL STATUE from ROME, Esquiline.

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Galleria Superiore, no. 6. "Basalt". H.: 0.08 m. XXXth Dynasty-Ptolemaic. Inscribed overall.

Torso only found in 1879 on the Esquiline.

Bull. Com., VII, (1879), p. 246, no. 2; Stuart-Jones, *Palaz. Conserv.*, p. 301, no. 6, pl. 119; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413.

220. STATUE from ROME, Gardens of Sallust.

Present whereabouts unknown. Black "marble". H.: "7/8 palms".

Fragment (head and feet missing) discovered in 1710 in the Vigna Verospi at Rome.

"La cinquième statue était aussi de marbre noir, plus petite, mais d'une plus habile main que les autres. Je ne sais si l'on a jamais vu une statue égyptienne d'un travail plus exquis." (Montfaucon quoting Bianchini).

Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, suppl. II, p. 127.

221. STATUE from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 41. Red granite. XIXth Dynasty. Inscribed. Only a fragment of the base survives.

Marucchi, in *Rend. Atti Pontif. Accad. rom.*, II, (1924), pp. 109-113.

222. STATUE from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 243).

Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 72255. Black "basalt". H. max.: 0.43 m; L.: 1.06 m; W.: 0.53 m. XXXth Dynasty-(?)Ptolemaic from the temple of Isis at Behbet el-Hagar (see no. 27.) Inscribed. Only the feet and base survive.

S. Aurigemma, *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano*, (1955), p. 156 (402).

223. STATUE from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, Museo Nazionale. Grey granite. H.: 0.27 m. Ptolemaic.

Head found in 1930 in the Via del Seminario, near the site of the Iseum Campense.

M. Pallottino, in *NSc*, (1934), pp. 101-103; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 413.

224. STATUE from ROME, Quirinal.

Present whereabouts unknown.

The figure was over life-size, which probably means that it was pharaonic or Ptolemaic rather than a Roman imitation.

Found in a vineyard on the Quirinal and sold to Cardinal Ferrara in 1573, through Ligorio. "Una statua Egitiaca maggiore di naturale con la sua testa del Dio Canopo. Fu trovata in una Vigna a Montecavalo et Mess. Pirro l'ha vista in detta Vigna." (*Doc. ined.*). See also no. 230, another Egyptian statue in the same collection, mentioned in an earlier inventory.

Documenti inediti, II, p. IX, and p. 164, no. 32.

225. STATUE from ROME.

(?) Paris, Musée du Louvre. Imperial porphyry. Roman imitation with hieroglyphs.

"Stück einer kleinen ägyptischen Figur von rotem Porphyr und mit Hieroglyphen bezeichnet "kam aus Rom durch Herrn Desmarets in das "Museum der Altertümer zu Paris". "Jetzt ist es in der ägyptischen Abteilung des Louvre in deren Magazin nicht vorhanden" (Delbrueck). Further enquiries made recently in the Louvre about this piece have been equally unsuccessful.

R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, (1932), p. 82.

226. MAGICAL STATUE from ROME (figs. 244-245).

Turin, Museo Egizio, no. suppl. 9. Black "basalt". H.: 0.25 m. XXXth Dynasty-Ptolemaic. Inscribed.

Fragment of torso found "in antiquissimis Romanae Urbis ruderibus", and, in 1654, in Kircher's own museum.

Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 507-508, figs.

227. STATUE from ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. Brown stone.

Female head in the Museo Borgiano in 1814. "Testa d'Iside calamistrata, con vestigia d'una zeppa che forse sosteneva il solito fiore. Monumento acquistato in Roma." (*Doc. ined.*).

Documenti inediti, I, p. 337, no. 180.

228. STATUE from ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. Green "basalt". (?) Roman imitation.

Head with back pillar in the Museo Borgiano in 1814. "Testa alta on.13, grossa on.11, appartenente ad una statua che veniva retta da un pilastro di appogio, che arrivava fino alla cervice. La detta testa è mutilata, ed ha un panno liscio che coprendo il capo pende d'intorno alla fronte, e sopra la cervice sino sulle spalle, forrando sopra la fronte alcune pieghe gentili a direzione verticale... Tale acconciatura di capo rende questo frammento simile ad una statua capitolina, coll'attributo di un cornucopio [in fact a modern restoration, see no. 131] ... Il presente frammento di certo non è lavoro puramente egizio, ma del resto manca di una carattere decisivo, da poter gli assegnare o eta o patria; è stato acquistato in Roma." (*Doc. ined.*).

Documenti inediti, I, p. 345, no. 455.

229. STATUE from ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. Dark granite. (?) Pharaonic or Ptolemaic. Inscribed. Seated statue (only the lower part was preserved). (?) Figure of Imhotep.

In the Museo Borgiano in 1814:

"Frammento lungo on.15½, largo on.7½, alto on.7, appartenente ad una statua sedente nuda, col grembiule vergato. Restano le coscie, il ventre, ed un piccolo avanzo del trono; dalle vestigia delle braccia reconoscesi, che accompagnavano i fianchi e le coscie, tenendo appiattata sul grembo une tavola quadrilunga liscia, fuori di una breve linea di geroglifici orizzontali; l'appoggio della schiena per quanto ne resta è liscia. Il lavoro cè diligente, la maniera egizia elegante, fu acquistato in Roma." (*Doc. ined.*).

Documenti inediti, I, p. 352, no. 485.

230. STATUE from (?) ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. More than life-size.

Female standing figure noted at Rome in the 16th century, being mentioned in a 1568 inventory of the Villa Ferrara on the Quirinal, as standing in the "statuario". The statue could have come from the Iseum Campense, where the Cardinal purchased several "black" statues and statuettes. See also no. 224, another Egyptian statue in the same collection, bought in 1573.

Documenti inediti, II, p. 159, line 12; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, III, p. 188 (?); Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 106, no. 58, p. 115, no. 49.

231. STATUE from (?) ROME.

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) Pharaonic or Ptolemaic. Inscribed. Seated statue.

Noted at Rome at the end of the 16th century, in the gardens of the Villa Medici: "Statua di granito a sedere senza testa la Dea de Hierogrifici".

F. Boyer, in *Revue archéologique*, Série 5, XXX, (1929), p. 266, no. 272.

232. STATUE from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 246).

Bruxelles, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, no. E 4340. Black stone. H.: 0.30 m. Ptolemaic. Inscribed. Kneeling statuette of a god (headless).

Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles. Département égyptien. Album (1934), pl. 14; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 417.

233-234. 2 STATUES from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

England, private collection. Black marble. H.: 1.54 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creations in Egyptianizing style. Male and female standing figures.

Found by Hamilton at Hadrian's villa in 1771 and then in the Lansdowne collection.

Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 313; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 460, no. 76a; Christie's sale catalogue, (5 March 1930), p. 49, no. 70.

235. STATUE: Provenance unknown.

England, Richmond, Doughty House, no. 34. Imperial porphyry. H.: 0.09 m. Roman imitation. Bust.

R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, (1932), p. 38, pl. I.

236. STATUE: Provenance unknown.

Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 1038. "Basalt". Roman. Female head.

Ruesh, *Guida ... Napoli*, p. 133, no. 384, (1038).

237. STATUE: Provenance unknown.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 553. Luna marble. H.: 0.25 m.

Roman imitation of a mummiform figure. The fragment (upper part of the figure) is coloured with red and purple, and the incisions on the body reproduce the decor of the late period sarcophagus.

It is now in the "Sotterraneo del Caffè" of the Villa Albani among pieces which probably all come from Hadrian's villa (Curto).

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta*, (1870), no. 553; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus*, VI, (1967), p. 93, no. 17.

238. STATUE: Provenance unknown.

Santa Barbara (California), Avery Brundage collection. Black marble. H.: 0.86 m. Roman imitation. Male figure, highly polished, with a back pillar.

Sotheby's sale catalogue (3 December 1956), p. 30, no. 207.

239. STATUE: Provenance unknown.

Present whereabouts unknown. Marble. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style (the head only is antique).

It was first in the Palazzo Barberini, then, at the end of the 19th century, in the Palazzo Sciarra.

P. A. Maffei, *Raccolta*, (1704), pl. XCV; Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, I, pp. 450-451.

240. STATUE: Provenance unknown (fig. 247).

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

It was in England at Ince Blundell Hall until 1961.

Engravings ... in the Collection of Henry Blundell, (1809), pl. 33, 1; B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, (1929), p. 30, no. 56.

241. STATUE: Provenance unknown (fig. 248).

Present whereabouts unknown. Red granite. H.: 1.51 m. Roman imitation. Male standing figure.

Brought at the sale of Lord Mendip at Twickenham. It was in England at Ince Blundell Hall until 1961.

Engravings ... in the Collection of Henry Blundell, (1809), pl. 40; Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 983, no. 2559; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 355, no. 58; B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles of Ince Blundell Hall*, (1929), p. 30, no. 58.

ZOOMORPHIC SCULPTURE

Apis bull

242. APIS BULL from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Present whereabouts unknown. Marble.

Noted at Rome in the 16th century by Pirro Ligorio, who mentions it as having been in the monastery near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, but broken and spoilt by the fathers of the monastery (see also no. 267).

T. Ashby, in *JRS*, IX, (1919), p. 179, fol. 6 r.; R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, XI, (1883), p. 42.

Baboons

243-244. Pair of BABOONS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 249-250).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, nos. 5, 11. Grey granite. H.: 1.51 m.

XXXth Dynasty (Nectanebo II), perhaps from the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Parva built by Nectanebo I. Inscribed.

Found in 1883, near S. Maria sopra Minerva. They were damaged and their muzzles were missing; these have been restored.

Bull. Com., (1883), II, pp. 9-14; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 504; Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Capit.*, pp. 357-358, nos. 4-5, pl. 90, nos. 4-5; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, pp. 17-19, nos. 5 and 11, pl. III.

245. BABOON from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 251-253).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 34. Brown marble. H.: 1.10 m. Roman imitation. Greek and Latin inscription.

It was standing near the Iseum Campense, in the early Renaissance (?), by the church of S. Stefano "del Cacco". It was moved, in 1562, to the Museo Capitolino and in 1838 to the Museo Greg. Egizio.

G. Caballini de Cerronibus, *Cronaca*, (1345-1347), in Urlichs (*Codex Urbis Romae topographicus*, (1871)); Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 96, pl. 58c; *Cod. Pighianus*, Berlin, fol. 26 r.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 8 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3853; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 272; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 47; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 320, no. 68b; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, pp. 114-115, no. 181, pl. LXXVIII.

246. BABOON from ROME, Iseum Campense.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 539. Black granite. H.: 0.25 m.

Face of a baboon, formerly with inlaid eyes.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta*, (1870), no. 530; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus*, VI, (1967), p. 94, no. 19.

247. BABOON from ROME, (?) Iseum Campense (fig. 254).

Present whereabouts unknown.

Noted at Rome in the 16th century, as part of a collection of animal sculpture, in the house of Cardinal Carpi in the Campo Marzio.

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 95, pl. 58c; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 8 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3853; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 210.

248. BABOON from (?) ROME (fig. 255).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 10. Brown marble. H.: 0.75 m.

Roman imitation. Greek inscription on the base "ΚΕΡΔΟΝ". The snout and left eye are damaged. Noted at Rome, between 1562 and 1567, in the Museo Capitolino where it can still be seen.

Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 275; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 50; C. Ménestrier, Vat. Lat. 10545, fig. 99; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 22, no. 10.

249. BABOON from (?) ROME.

Rome, Villa Ludovisi, (cat. Schreiber) no. 305. Black "basalt". H.: 0.45 m.

Noted at Rome in the 16th century, in the Cesi Gardens, set up between two crocodiles nos. 255-256; since 1622 in the Villa Ludovisi.

Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 131; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 9; T. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*, (1880), no. 305; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 27, no. 96.

250. BABOON from (?) ROME (fig. 256).

Present whereabouts unknown. Bronze. (?) Ptolemaic. Greek inscription on base "ΚΑΡ-ΝΕΑϹ".

Noted at Rome in the 16th century.

Mandowsky-Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, no. 97, pl. 58c; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 8 v.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3853.

251. BABOON from (?) ROME (fig. 257).

Present whereabouts unknown. Marble, dark grey with light patches. H.: 0.35 m. (?) Roman (heavily restored).

This piece comes from the Mattei collection in Rome. It was in England at Ince Blundell Hall until 1961.

Monumenta Mattheiana, II, 68, 1; *Engravings ... in the Collection of Henry Blundell*, (1809), pl. 33, 2; B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles of Ince Blundell Hall*, (1929), p. 30, no. 57.

252. BABOON from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 112. "Basalt". H.: 0.61 m. Roman (Hadrianic) imitation (restored).

Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, Livre 1. ch. XVI, pl. CXXIX, no. 1; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 319, no. 67a; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 114, no. 179, pl. LXXVIII; Bouchard-Gravier, *Monuments égyptiens*, (1791), I, pl. 93 (1).

253. Baboon: Provenance unknown (figs. 258-259).

Present whereabouts unknown. Greywacke (black). H.: 0.224 m.

(?) Roman imitation. The onyx eyes would suggest that this is either a Roman piece or a piece which was restored in antiquity. This baboon, which was mentioned in the 18th century, turned up recently in England: it was seen at Spink's some years ago.

Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, (1759), III, pp. 27-28, pl. VI (2-3); Bouchard-Gravier, *Monumens égyptiens*, (1791), I, pl. 72 (1).

Crocodiles

254. Crocodile from Rome, Iseum Campense (fig. 260).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 13. Red granite. L.: 1.70 m. Roman creation. Found in 1883 on the site of the Iseum Campense.

The crocodile was one of the major deities of the Fayum in Hellenistic and Roman times. It was also an essential element of the Nilotic landscape (see the Praeneste mosaic in particular). This may account for the presence of crocodiles in the Iseum Campense, and, more generally, in Rome.

Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 504; Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Capit.*, p. 358, no. 11, pl. 90, no. 11; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 23, pl. 10; Helbig, *Führer durch ... in Rom*, II, pp. 43-44, no. 1195.

255-256. 2 Crocodiles from (?) Rome.

Present whereabouts unknown. Black marble. Roman creations.

Noted at Rome in the 16th century in the Cesi Gardens, on either side of a baboon (no. 249).

Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 131; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 9; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 27, no. 97.

257. Crocodile from Tivoli, Villa di Cassio (fig. 261).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 67. Black stone. L.: 1.00 m. Roman creation (restored).

Found in 1779 in the Villa di Cassio at Tivoli.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 315, no. 53; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 116, no. 184, pl. LXXIX.

258. Crocodile from Tivoli, Hadrian's villa (fig. 262).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 79. Parian marble. L.: 1.62 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation (the head restored).

Found in the Canopus of Hadrian's villa in the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1753).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 310, no. 45; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 116, no. 185, pl. LXXIX.

259. CROCODILE from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Tivoli, on the bank of the Canopus of Hadrian's villa. Greenish marble. L.: 1.66 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation.

Found in 1955 in the Canopus of Hadrian's villa, where it served as a fountain to create the atmosphere of a Nilotic landscape.

S. Aurigemma, in *Bolletino d'arte*, (1956), pp. 66-68; idem, *Villa Adriana*, (1961), pp. 110-111, fig. 196.

Falcons

260. FALCON from (?) ROME (fig. 263).

Present whereabouts unknown. (?) Roman imitation.

Noted at Rome in the 16th century.

Codex Coburgensis, Veste Coburg Cod. Hz. 2, no. 73.2; F. Matz, in *Monatsberichte d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, (1871), pp. 445-499, and p. 463, no. 18.

261. FALCON from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 264).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 1. Black granite. H.: 0.56 m. Late Period or Ptolemaic.

Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Capit.*, p. 358, no. 10, pl. 92, no. 10; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 20, no. 1.

262. FALCON from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 265).

Present whereabouts unknown. Black "basalt". Roman imitation. Garbled hieroglyphs on the base.

Found at Hadrian's villa by La Piccola in the 18th century (?). It was in England, at Ince Blundell Hall, until 1961.

Engravings ... in the Collection of Henry Blundell, (1809), pl. 43, 2; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 775, no. 6; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 356, no. 60; B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, (1929), p. 30, no. 60.

263. FALCON: Provenance unknown (fig. 266).

Bologna, Museo Civico, B. 408. Black granite. H.: 0.54 m; base: L.: 0.43 m.; W.: 0.21 m. Roman imitation.

S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale, Catalogo,* (1961), pp. 137-138, no. 288, pl. 63.

264. FALCON: Provenance unknown (fig. 267).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 87. Luna marble. H.: 0.66 m. Roman imitation.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 309, no. 42; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 115, no. 182, pl. LXXVIII; Helbig. *Führer durch ... in Rom,* I, p. 384, no. 487.

265. FALCON: Provenance unknown (fig. 268).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 135. Black "basalt". H.: 0.62 m.

(?) XXXth Dynasty. The crown and the onyx eyes are restored, (the left eye perhaps in antiquity). From the Museo Rolandi.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 76, no. 109; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 47, no. 53, pl. XLII.

Hathor Cows

266. HATHOR Cow from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 269).

Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 5419. Pink granite. H.: 1.035 m; remaining base: 0.745 × 0.705 m. XXIInd Dynasty (Osorkon I). Inscribed.

Fragment found near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1856.

The cow is shown suckling the king, and Schiaparelli suggests a possible analogy in the Roman mind with the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.

Bull. Inst., XXVIII, (1856), pp. 181-182; E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze,* (1887), pp. 152-154, no. 1225; L. A. Milani, *Il reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze,* (1923), p. 113; C. E. Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt,* (1936), p. 257; A. Galvano, *L'arte égiziana antica,* (1938), p. 29; F. Jonckheere, in *Aesculape,* XXXVI, (1955), p. 221, pl. 6; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs,* (1964), pl. 24 (6), see p. 125 note 6 (mistake about the Turin Museum).

267. HATHOR Cow from ROME, Iseum in Regio III.

Rome, formely in the garden "Caffè" of the Villa Field-Brancaccio. Black granite with pink spots. H.: 1.20 m; L.: 1,60 m.

Found in 1884 and 1886 in pieces scattered in the foundation of the Villa Field-Brancaccio and in those of the convent of the Soeurs de Cluny (Via Merulana and Via Buonarroti). Restored.

According to Visconti and Lanciani, this piece is a Roman copy of the Hathor Cow of the Iseum Campense. According to Seymour de Ricci (MS. in the Collège de France, Paris), it is a "travail saïte. Restaurés: le cou, les cornes, tout l'arrière train. Les pieds sont pris dans une masse qui les rejoint. La déesse porte les cornes, le disque solaire et l'uraeus". No mention is made of any kneeling figure as in no. 266. Müller says that this piece is in fact an Apis (perhaps copied from no. 242) and dates it as late Ptolemaic-early Roman.

C. L. Visconti, in *Bull. Com.*, XIV, (1886), p. 208; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 360; idem, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, (1899), pp. 43-44; G. Schneider-Graziosi, in *Bull. Com.*, XLIII, (1915), p. 117; H. W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent*, (1969), p. 86.

Lions

268-270. 3 LIONS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 270-273).

Dresden Museum (cat. Herrmann) nos. 16, 17, 18. Red granite. H.: 0.56 m; L.: 1.29 m. Late Ptolemaic or Roman, possibly from Alexandria. Recumbent lions.

These are presumably the three lions of "red stone" noted at Rome in the Cesi gardens in the 16th century, and mentioned by Aldrovandi who omitted to add that they were Egyptian. The fact that the Cesi lions were Egyptian is suggested by a report of a contemporary traveller, M. van Waelscapple, who described them (erroneously) as "sphinxes". A sketch by Colonna shows one of the lions (fig. 272).

The Cesi collection was partly sold to Cardinal Albani, and, in 1728, Leplat bought these lions from the Albani collection for the royal collection of antiquities in Dresden (fig. 273).

G. Colonna, MS. Cod. Vat. 7721, fol. 14 v.; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, pp. 131, 133; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 9; B. Leplat, *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden*, (1733), pl. 188; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 26, no. 92, p. 29, nos. 106-107 (on p. 30, nos. 108-109, and p. 36, first §, Hülsen follows the error of M. van Waelscapple); P. Herrmann, *Verzeichnis der Antiken Originalbildwerke ... Dresden*, (1925), p. 14; J. Pijoan, *Summa artis*, (1945), III, p. 520, fig. 697; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415; H. W. Müller, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bild. Kunst*, XVI, (1965), pp. 31, 45 note 53, figs. 40-41.

271-272. Pair of LIONS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 274-278).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, nos. 7, 9. Grey granite with pink veins. H.: 0.84 m; base no. 7: L.: 1.85 m; W.: 0.62 m; Th.: 0.22 m; base no. 9: L.: 1.97 m; W.: 0.62 m; Th.: 0.12 m. Early Ptolemaic. Recumbent lions.

Found in 1435 (Vacca) on the site of the Iseum Campense, and for some time standing in front of S. Stefano del Cacco. They were then removed under Pius IV (1559-1566) to the Piazza del Campidoglio (figs. 276-277), and, in 1588, Giacomo della Porta turned them into "fontanelle" at the bottom of the great stairs of the Capitol (fig. 278). In the 19th century they were transferred to the Museo Capitolino, whence they have recently been returned to their position on the steps.

C. Hülsen, *Das Skizzenbuch des G. A. Dosio im Staatlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin,* fol. 30 r., no. 83, p. 19, pl. 44 (presumably); Hülsen-Egger, *M. van Heemskerck,* II, fol. 8 v. (presumably); Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac,* no. 3854; S. Reinach, *L'album de Pierre Jacques,* (1902), pl. 93; Aldrovandi, *Statue,* p. 270 (one lion only); Boissard, *Top.,* I, p. 47 (one lion, see Aldrovandi), p. 79; Fea, *Miscell.,* I, p. LXVIII (F. Vacca, *Memorie,* 1594); Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.,* p. 503; Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Capit.,* p. 358, nos. 8-9; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.,* VII, p. 414; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.,* pp. 19-20, nos. 7 and 9, pl. IX; C. D'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma,* (1962), pl. 100, pp. 123-124; H. W. Müller, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bild. Kunst,* XVI (1965), p. 27, figs. 28-29.

273-274. Pair of LIONS from ROME, Iseum Campense (figs. 279-283).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, nos. 21, 23. Grey granite with red veins. H.: 0.77 m; L.: no. 21: 1.97 m; no. 23: 1.85 m.

XXXth Dynasty (Nectanebo I), from either the temple of Serapis at Memphis (see Lauer-Picard), or the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Parva (see Kienitz). Inscribed.

In the 12th century A.D., these were in front of the Pantheon, and in the 13th century, they served as models for some of the Cosmati lions of Rome, notably the recumbent lion of the porch of SS. Apostoli (figs. 7-8). They were rediscovered in the reign of Eugenius IV in 1435. In the reign of Clement VII (1531-1534), they were set on pedestals, still in front of the Pantheon (figs. 281-282). They stayed there until 1586 when they were removed to be used as water-spouts in the fountain of the Acqua Felice (fig. 283). In the 19th century, they were transfered to the Vatican Museum and replaced in the fountain by copies. This type of recumbent lion, with the head turned sideways and the forepaws crossed, appeared in the XVIIIth Dynasty and was extensively used in the Late Period: one could see two pairs of them at the Serapeum of Memphis, and several along the dromos of the Iseum of Behbet el-Hagar.

G. McN. Rushforth, in *JRS.*, IX, (1919), p. 53; Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*, I, fol. 10 r.; E. Tormo, *F. d'Ollanda*, (1940), fol. 16v.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 2 r.; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3856; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 312; Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, figs. 28-29; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III pp. 463-464 and figs.; De Rossi, *Vestigi delle antichità di Roma ... Como si ritrovano nel secolo XV*, pl. 33; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, I, p. 52; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, pp. 32-42, nos. 16, 18; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, pp. 14-18, nos. 26-27, pls. XVI-XVIII; Kienitz, p. 203, no. 25; J.-P. Lauer-Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sérapieion de Memphis*, (1955), p. 12, note 1; K. Noehles, in *Festschrift Werner Hager*, (1966), pp. 17-38.

275-276. 2 LIONS from ROME, (?) Iseum in Regio III (figs. 284-288).

Present whereabouts unknown. Parian marble. Roman imitations. Recumbent lions.

These two lions, presumably from the Iseum in Regio III nearby, were used as supports under the base of the statue of Marcus Aurelius in front of the Lateran in the Middle Ages (Ciriaco d'Ancona's drawing, fig. 284). In 1474, a pedestal in classical style was put under the statue, and the two lions were set up on either side of it (v. Heemskerck's drawing, fig. 205). Sometime between 1535 (date of Heemskerck's drawing) and 1538 (date at which the statue of Marcus Aurelius was taken to the Capitol), the lions were placed near the mediaeval door of S. Giovanni in Laterano (see Aldrovandi) (figs. 287-288) to replace the protomes of lions by the Cosmati, that had previously stood on either side of the ancient door (fig. 286). Sixtus V had them removed to the fountain of the Acqua Felice, with the lions of the Pantheon, where they were used as water-spouts. Copies replaced the originals in the beginning of the 19th century.

C. Hülsen, *La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona*, (1907), p. 29 and pl. VII; Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*, I, fol. 71 r.; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 313; J. Ciampini, *De sacris aedificis*, (1693), p. 17, pl. V; C. D'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma*, (1962), p. 92 and note 30, fig. 66.

Sphinxes

277. SPHINX from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 289).

New York, private coll. Green stone.

Roman copy (presumably 1st century A.D.) but probably the work of Egyptian craftsmen.

(?) Found in 1856 with the sphinx (no. 278) now in the Barracco collection, no. 13, of which this one is a faithful duplicate, doubtless intended to balance the other on the dromos of the Iseum.

278. Sphinx from Rome, Iseum Campense (fig. 290).

Rome, Museo Barracco, no. 13. Black granite. H.: 0.54 m; L.: 0.77 m; W.: 0.30 m.

XVIIIth Dynasty (temp. Tuthmosis III). Inscribed with the cartouche of Meryetre Hatshepsut.

Found in 1856 behind the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva. It had been taken to Rome and used in the decoration of the Iseum Campense together with a Roman duplicate, to form a pair (see no. 277). This type of female sphinx, with the Hathor locks and the vulture crown of the queens, appeared under Tuthmosis III. Other examples are now in Cairo Museum (nos. 45076, 56599).

> *Bull. Inst.*, (1856), p. 180; (1858), p. 147; C. R. Lepsius, *ZÄS*, XX, (1882), p. 117 f.; Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, I, pp. 461-462, no. 1612; G. Barracco-W. Helbig, *La collection Barracco*, (1893), pp. 13-15, pl. 7-7a; R. Engelbach, in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*, XXXI, (1931), pp. 128-129, pl. II; C. E. Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt* (ed. 1936), p. 257; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 414; C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco di scultura antica*, (1963), pp. 50-51, no. 13; A. Dessenne, *Le sphinx*, (1957), p. 100 no. 242.

279. Sphinx from Rome, Iseum Campense (fig. 291).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 8. Brown "basalt". H.: 0.90 m; L.: 1.28 m.

XXVIth Dynasty (Amasis). Inscribed.

Found in 1883 on the site of the Iseum Campense.

> Lanciani, *Ruins and Excav.*, p. 504; Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Capit.*, p. 357, pl. 90 (3); Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 414; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, pp. 15-17, no. 8, pls. 1 and 11.

280, Sphinx from Rome, Iseum Campense (fig. 292).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 16. Red granite. H.: 0.59 m (without base); base: L.: 1.33 m; W.: 0.44 m. Roman.

Found in 1858 under the house of the Tranquilli, Via di S. Ignazio (i.e. on the dromos of the Iseum). For some time it was in the garden of the same house, and then removed to the Museo Capitolino.

Ampère, in *Bull. Inst.*, XXX, (1858), p. 47; C. R. Lepsius in *ZÄS*, XX, (1882), p. 118; Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, I, p. 462, no. 1613; R. Lanciani in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 49 d; Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Cap.*, p. 358, no. 6, pl. 90, no. 6; C. E. Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt*, (1936), p. 257; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 414; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, pp. 23-24, no. 16.

281. SPHINX from ROME, outside the Porta del Popolo.

Rome, Museo Vaticano, Sala a Croce Greca, no. 578. Grey and pink granite. H.: 1.16 m; L.: 2.16 m; W.: 0.745 m. Roman.

Found at Rome outside the Porta del Popolo. It was in the Villa Giulia in the 16th century.

Amelung, *Vat. Mus.*, III, no. 578; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 323.

282. SPHINX from ROME, Vatican Hill.

Rome, Museo Vaticano, Sala a Croce Greca, no. 579. Grey granite. H.: 1.04 m; L.: 2.275 m; W.: 0.74 m. Roman.

Found in the reign of Paul V (1605-1621) when building the steps of St. Peter's façade; perhaps part of the decoration of the Circus Gai et Neronis.

Amelung, *Vat. Mus.*, III, 1, no. 579; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 323.

283. SPHINX from (?) ROME.

Previously Medici collection, no. 1599 (Med. no. 53). Granite.

Noted at Rome in the mid-16th century in the gardens of the villa Ferrara on the Quirinal. Later, in the Medici collection. There could possibly be a connection with no. 309.

Documenti inediti, II, p. 161, line 2; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 107, no. 106.

284. SPHINX from (?) ROME (figs. 293-298).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, N. 26. Black "basalt". H.: 0.80 m; L.: 1.50 m; W.: 0.44 m. XXIXth Dynasty (Nepherites I). Inscribed.

Noted at Rome in the early 16th century at the bottom of steps on the Capitol, by Fulvio. Then in the Villa Borghese, used as a water-spout for a fountain.

A. Fulvio, *Antiquaria urbis* (1513), p. 39; J. J. Boissard, Stockholm MS., S. 68, p. 41 ("sphinges capitolina"); *Codex Pighianus*, Berlin, fol. 52 r. and v.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 1 v., upper register; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3855; P. Belon du Mans, *Observations ...*, (1553), ch. XLVI; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 270 or 272; Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 27; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 469; J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art* *chez les anciens*, (1802), I, p. 106 and note 1; Clarac, *Musée*, II, pl. 246, no. 405; E. de Rougé, *Notice des monuments*, (1855), p. 32; H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Egypte*, (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, XX, 1), (1916), p. 162, IV.

285. SPHINX from (?) ROME (figs. 298-304).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, N. 27. Black "basalt". H.: 0.80 m; L.: 1.50 m; W.: 0.44 m. XXIXth Dynasty, (Achoris). Inscribed.

Noted at Rome in the early 16th century at the bottom of steps on the Capitol, by Fulvio. Then in the Villa Borghese, used as a water-spout for a fountain. The sphinx was first drawn by Francesco d'Ollanda. As the inscription of the base, on the side which he was representing, was missing, d'Ollanda drew the hieroglyphs carved on the opposite side (fig. 302). Seymour de Ricci (Ms. in Collège de France) classifies it among the monuments of the Iseum Campense.

A. Fulvio, *Antiquaria urbis*, (1513), p. 39; E. Tormo, *F. d'Ollanda*, (1940), fol. 26 v.; J. J. Boissard, Stockholm MS., S. 68, p. 41; *Codex Pighianus*, Tübingen, fol. 49 r., v.; *Cod. Urs.*, fol. 1 v. (lower register); Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3855; P. Belon du Mans, *Observations*..., (1553), ch. XLVI; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, pp. 270 or 272; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 47; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 472; Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, pl. CXXIX, nos. 3, 4, 5; Clarac, *Musée*, II, pl. 246, no. 405; E. de Rougé, *Notice des monuments*, (1855), p. 33; P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes du Louvre* (1874-78), II, p. 1; F. W. v. Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur* (1914), pl. 70; H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Egypte*, (Mémoires publiés, par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, XX, 1) (1916), p. 166, XIV.

286-287. 2 SPHINXES from (?) ROME (figs. 305-307).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, nos. 51, 52. Red granite. No. 51: H.: 0.54 m; L.: 1.00 m; W.: 0.31m. No. 52: H.: 0.49 m; L.: 0.965 m; W.: 0.31 m. Roman copies.

Noted at Rome in the 16th century in the Belvedere Gardens, where v. Heemskerck drew them and Pierre Belon du Mans saw them "... en une galerie au palais du Pape au jardin de Belveder, entaillez de pierre Thébaique de mesme les aiguilles ou obélisques..." It is possible that they were the same ones of which Primaticcio took casts for Fontainebleau, where he had two bronze sphinxes cast for François I. Contemporary drawings, nevertheless, show *female* sphinxes set up at Fontainebleau. These were at the bottom of the staircase built by Primaticcio himself in the Cour de la Fontaine, where they stayed until the Revolution when they were melted down, as were most bronzes at Fontainebleau.

Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck*, I, fol. 23 r.; P. Belon du Mans, *Observations* ... (1553), ch. XLVI; Massi, *Indicazione antiquaria del Museo Pio Clementino* (1792), p. 125, no. 18; p. 127, no. 3; Barbet de Jouy, *Etude sur les fontes du Primatice*, (1860), pp. 39, 40; Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 316, nos. 59-60; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 112, nos. 173-174, pl. LXXVI.; S. Pressouyre, in *Bulletin monumental*, 127, (1969), pp. 231-234, figs. 7-8.

288. SPHINX from (?) ROME (figs. 308-309).
Present whereabouts unknown. "Basalt".
Noted at Rome in the 16th century in the palace of the Rev. Savelli. In his sketchbook, Colonna mentioned "la sfigne di Savelli in Roma ..." "Lunga la sfigne, piedi 8½" Aldrovandi thought it was a headless lion.

G. Colonna, Cod. Vat. 7721, fol. 9 v. and 10 r.; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 234; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, I, p. 178.

289-290. 2 SPHINXES from (?) ROME.
Present whereabouts unknown. Black stone.
Noted at Rome in the 16th century in the Cesi gardens on either side of the entrance of the "antiquario". The two rested on non-antique bases with the inscriptions: "INNOCVAE SVNT" and "NEC SERVNT AMBAGES".

Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 127; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 8; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 32, nos. 123-124.

291. SPHINX from (?) ROME.
Present whereabouts unknown. Granite.
Noted at Rome in 1562, in the vineyard of Cardinal Carpi, standing by the stairs leading to the Cortile del Olmo.

Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 295; Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, p. 55, no. 3.

292. SPHINX from (?) ROME.
Present whereabouts unknown. Black marble.
Noted at Rome in 1610 in the Mattei collection in the gardens of the Villa Celimontana, near the door of the Secret Garden.

A. Venuti, *Vetera monumenta ... quae ... in aedibus Matthaeiorum adservantur*, (1779), II, pl. 68 r.

293. SPHINX from (?) ROME.
Present whereabouts unknown. Granite.
Noted at Rome in the 16th century in the Villa Giulia. Botti and

Romanelli suggest that this sphinx is the one of the pair taken to Paris by Napoleon. Queries and research in the Louvre have shown that the "imported" sphinxes were returned to Italy in 1814-15. Where then is it?

Massi, *Indicazione antiquaria del Museo Pio Clementino,* (1792), p. 176, no. 27; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 140, about nos. 173-174.

294-295. 2 SPHINXES from (?) ROME.
Present whereabouts unknown.
Noted at Rome in the 16th century, in the collection of Francesco Fusconi da Norcia.

Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi,* II, p. 91.

296. SPHINX from (?) ROME (figs. 310-311).
Present whereabouts unknown.
Noted at Rome in the 16th century in the Casa Galli (the left foreleg broken).

Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck,* I, fol. 27 r., fol. 72 r.

297. SPHINX from (?) ROME (figs. 312-313).
Present whereabouts unknown.
Noted at Rome in the 16th century.

Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck,* II, fol. 24 v., 26 v.

298. SPHINX from (?) ROME (fig. 314).
Present whereabouts unknown.
Noted at Rome in the 16th century.

Hülsen-Egger, *M. v. Heemskerck,* II, fol. 34 v.

299. SPHINX from (?) ROME.
Present whereabouts unknown.
Noted at Rome in the 16th century.

P. Pray Bober, *Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini. Sketchbooks in the British Museum,* (1957), pp. 85-86 (fol. 30 no. 59), fig. 118.

300. SPHINX, from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 315).
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 651. Red granite. H.: 0.64 m. Hadrianic imitation.

From Tivoli, Hadrian's villa, then in the villa Borghese. Bought in 1893 in Rome for the Glyptothek.

M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: la collection égyptienne,* (1930), p. 182, no. A 405; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes,* (1950), p. 72, no. 130.

301a. SPHINX from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 316).

Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl.W.A.F. 16. Greywacke. H.: 0.57 m; L.: 1.01 m. (?) Ptolemaic or Roman.

Found at Hadrian's villa, then in the Villa Albani.

Furtwängler, *Glypt. München,* p. 25 no. 23; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.,* VII, p. 416.

301b. SPHINX from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 317).

Munich, Glyptothek, no. Gl.W.A.F. 17. Dark "basalt". H.: 0.62 m; L.: 0.99 m.

(?) Ptolemaic or Roman; (the head is restored). Found in Hadrian's villa, then in the Villa Albani.

Furtwängler, *Glypt. München,* p. 25, no. 24; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.,* VII, p. 416; H. W. Müller, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates,* (1966), § 90.

302. SPHINX from TIVOLI, (?) Hadrian's villa (fig. 318).

New York, Brooklyn Museum, no. 5685. Hard green stone. H.: 0.389 m.

XIIth Dynasty (queen or princess). Head. In about 1771, the head was in the Hamilton and Landsdowne collections. (Hamilton excavated at Tivoli in 1769.)

Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles,* p. 460, no. 76 B; Christie's sale catalogue, Lansdowne collection, March 1930, no. 71; J. D. Cooney, in *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin,* XVIII, 1, (1956), pp. 16-19; Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, (1951-1956),* pls. 7-10 (2), cf. p. 3; *Archaeology,* X, (1957), p. 241; G. Posener, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne,* (1959), fig. on p. 179; C. Aldred, *The Egyptians,* (1961), pl. 29; For a similar sort of sphinx see: W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East,* (1965), p. 15 and fig. 25.

303-304. 2 SPHINXES from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) nos. 537, 547. White limestone. H.: 0.67 m; L.: 0.56 m; W.: 0.25 m.

Roman (Hadrianic) creations in Egyptianizing style. Squatting sphinxes.

Found at Hadrian's villa.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), nos. 537, 547; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), p. 88, no. 10, and bibliography.

305. SPHINX from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 550. Grey "basalt". H.: 0.68 m; L.: 1.36 m; W.: 0.40 m. (?) Roman (Hadrianic).

Found at Hadrian's villa. Probably used as a pair with no. 308. They are similar but their tails are symmetrical.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 550; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), pp. 84-85, no. 6, and bibliography.

306. SPHINX from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 552. "Basalt". H.: 0.56 m; L.: 1.09 m; W.: 0.315 m. Roman (Hadrianic).

Found at Hadrian's Villa.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 552; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), pp. 85-86, no. 7, and bibliography.

307. SPHINX from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia (cat. Visconti) no. 560. Black granite. H.: 0.62 m; L.: 1.17 m; W.: 0.345 m. (?) Roman (Hadrianic).

Found at Hadrian's villa.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 560; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), p. 86, no. 8, and bibliography.

308. SPHINX from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa.

Rome, Villa Albani-Torlonia, (cat. Visconti) no. 563. Grey granite. H.: 0.85 m; L.: 1.58 m; W.: 0.43 m. (?) Roman.

Found at Hadrian's villa. Probably used as a pair with no. 305.

Morelli-Fea-Visconti, *La villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta,* (1870), no. 563; S. Curto, in *Oriens antiquus,* VI, (1967), pp. 86-87, no. 9, and bibliography.

309. SPHINX: Provenance unknown.

Florence, Museo Archeologico, terrace of the first floor. Black granite. H.: 0.48 m; L.: 0.90 m; W.: 0.27 m. Roman.

Is there perhaps a connection with no. 283?

310. SPHINX: Provenance unknown (fig. 319).

Rome, Galleria Borghese, Sala Egizia, CCVII. Green "basalt". H.: 0.42 m; L.: 0.87 m. W.: 0.265 m. Roman (restored).

J. Faldi, *Galleria Borghese. Le sculture dei secc. XVI al XIX;* Cataloghi dei Musei e Galleria d'Italia. (1954) pp. 44-45 (about a modern duplicate of the antique sphinx); R. Calza, *Catalogo del Gabinetto fotografico nazionale. Galleria Borghese. Collezione degli oggetti antichi,* (1957), no. 100.

311. SPHINX: Provenance unknown (fig. 320).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 72. Luna marble. H.: 0.70 m; L.: 0.65 m; W.: 0.33 m.

Roman creation in Egyptianizing style. Squatting sphinx. Presumably from Hadrian's villa in Tivoli: it is very similar to the two sphinxes nos. 303-304.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, p. 312, no. 50; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 113, no. 177, pl. LXXVII.

312-313. 2 SPHINXES: Provenance unknown (figs. 321-322).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, nos. 98, 100. Greek marble. H.: 0.60 m; L.: 0.99 m; W.: 0.32 m. Roman.

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, pp. 307 f., nos. 35-37; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 112, nos. 175-176, pl. LXXVII.

VARIOUS

Canopic jars

314. CANOPIC JAR from (?) Rome, Iseum Campense (fig. 323).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 88. Alabaster. H.: 0.435 m.

The head is Egyptian (? Late Period, XXVIth-XXXth Dynasty). The vase itself is Roman with a hieroglyphic text adapted from some original sources and a cartouche of Nectanebo I between two recumbent lions (cartouche and figures being derived from the two large lions (nos. 273-274) of the Iseum Campense). In Roman times, if we believe the various representations of Isiac processions, Isiac clergy seem to have considered canopic jars as divinities comparable to Osiris Canopus, and to have more or less confused the two types of objects. So, one can see on one of the columns of the Iseum Campense, a priest carrying a canopic jar with a head of a jackal (Duamutef) *and* with a crown, while his neighbour carries what could be a more convincing representation of Osiris Canopus (fig. 43). The confusion seems to have gone even further, as one sees on the same columns another form of Osiris Canopus, this time two-headed (fig. 45).

Marucchi, *M.E.V.*, pp. 318-319, no. 67; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 124, no. 202, pl. LXXXIV.

315. CANOPIC JAR from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 324).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 125. Alabaster. H.: 0.75 m.

Only the head, of Roman date, is antique. Found at Tivoli by Fede in the 18th century.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. LXXVII, no. 3; Penna, *Viaggio*, IV, 100, 2; Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 123, no. 201, pl. LXXXIV.

Cippi

316. CIPPUS from ROME, Esquiline (fig. 325).

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala Castellani, no. 409. Green steatite. H.: 0.155 m. Ptolemaic. Inscribed.

Horus on the crocodiles. Found in 1885 in the lararium of a house of the 4th century A.D. (Constantine's time) on the Esquiline near the church of S. Martino ai Monti.

Stuart-Jones, *Palaz. Conserv.*, p. 303, no. 16, pl. 119; F. W. v. Bissing, in *Egyptian Religion*, II, (1934), pp. 140-143 and fig.; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 34, no. 409.

317. CIPPUS from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 326).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 14. Black "basalt". H.: 0.32 m; W.: 0.56 m; Th.: 0.25 m.

(?) New Kingdom or Late Period (XXVI-XXXth Dynasty). Found in the Via la Spezia.

The fragment, which seems to be unique, is the bottom part of a cippus in very high relief which evidently showed a figure standing upon two lions. The representation is perhaps that of Kadesh, an Asiatic goddess, whose cult became established in Egypt under the

XVIIIth Dynasty. She was represented in Egyptian art, frontally, standing on a lion with flowers and serpents in her hands.

Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, p. 22. On the subject of Kadesh see: H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, (1952), pp. 362-363; H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, (1954), pp. 56 f.; A. A. Barb, in *Hournal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIX, (1966), pl. II, a; R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, (1967), (= Problemene der *Ägyptologie*, 5); review by J. Leclant, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XXVI, 1-2.

318. CIPPUS from ROME (fig. 327).

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, no. 12770. Roman.

Fragments of a large stela found in the Tiber.

Kgl. Mus. zu Berlin, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Aegyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse*, (1899), p. 309.; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415.

Naos

319. NAOS from ROME.

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, no. 16782. Black granite. XIXth Dynasty (Sethos I). Inscribed.

Fragment found in Rome, but the precise location is not recorded.

Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415.

Stela

320. STELA from ROME, (?) Iseum Campense (figs. 102, 328-329).

Rome, Gardens of the Palazzo Barberini. Pink granite. H.: 2.40 m; W.: 1.22 m; Th.: 0.19 m. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

Lanciani suggests that the stela might have been part of the series of monuments from the Iseum Campense discovered in 1642 and given to Cardinal Barberini. Pococke and Iversen have confused this stela with the apex of the obelisk of the Tiber Island (no. 85).

R. Pococke, *A Description of the East* ... (1743) vol. 2, part 2, p. 207, pl. 91; J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi*, (1767), I, fig. 79, II, p. 103; D. Magnan, *La ville de Rome* ..., (Rome, 1778), col. 56, pl. 91; R. Lanciani, in *Bull. Com.*, (1883), p. 60; Iversen, *Obelisks*, pp. 179-180.

Supports

321. SUPPORT from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 330).

Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio, no. 47. Black marble. H.: 0.66 m. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style.

Found in the Canopus of Hadrian's villa under Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

Botti-Romanelli, *M.G.E.*, p. 129, no. 214, pl. LXXXVII.

322. SUPPORT from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 331).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman (Hadrianic) creation in Egyptianizing style.

Found by Hamilton in 1789 in Tivoli (Hadrian's villa) where it must have been used as a garden altar, more decorative than religious, or as a support for a statue.

The block is carved with "hieroglyphs" most of them being pure Roman inventions. Only 𓎟𓇿𓇿 nb t3wy "lord of the Two Lands" w3ḏt (Edjo, cobra goddess of Lower Egypt) ☉ r^{c} "sun" are recognizable. All these hieroglyphs are used in official texts with the titulary of the king, and must have been "borrowed" from a genuine Egyptian monument imported into Rome. The sistrum symbolises the Isiac ceremonies in which it was used.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta* ... I, pl. LXXVIII, no. 1; Penna, *Viaggio*, IV, 100, 3.

323. SUPPORT from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 332).

Present whereabouts unknown. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

Found in the 18th century at Tivoli, where it must have been used for the same purpose as no. 322. The block is decorated with a procession in the same style as the one on the Iseum columns (nos. 16-19) or on the Mattei relief (no. 43). Romans in Egyptian stance. One side of the block has a pseudo-hieroglyph: a snake biting into a sun-disk.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. XCII, no. 2.

Table

324. TABLE "MENSA ISIACA" from (?) ROME (fig. 333).

Turin, Museo Egizio, no. cat. 7155. Bronze inlaid with silver. L.: 1.26 m; W.: 0.75 m.

Roman or Alexandrian creation of the early Imperial period in Egyptianizing style, with divine figures and pseudo-hieroglyphs. It was presumably executed for a Roman sanctuary (?) under Claudius (A.D. 41-54) whose name, written in hieroglyphs on the table, is the only meaningful fragment of text. This technique of inlaid bronze was used for another Roman Egyptianizing work very similar in style and inspiration, the Egyed hydria.

The table was rediscovered at the beginning of the 16th century, before 1520 (see Giehlow), and purchased by Cardinal Bembo for his collection at Padova; hence the name often used for the table "Tabula Bembina". It was first published in 1559 by Enea Vico de Parma, and Pierio Valeriano mentions it several times in his *Hieroglyphica*, first published in 1556.

G. Franco made an engraving of it in 1600, and Pignorius' book on the "Mensa" was published in 1605. The further illustrations of the "Mensa Isiaca" are all copied from one of these two publications. From the beginning of the 17th century onwards, the "Mensa Isiaca" was used as a reference for all Egyptological studies, until the 19th century, when it was identified as a Roman work. In 1630, it disappeared from Mantua where it had been in the Duke's possession and was considered lost. Later it reappeared in the hands of Cardinal Pava who gave it to the Duke of Savoy.

Codex Pighianus, Tübingen, fol. 50 v., 51 r.; E. Vico de Parma, *Vetustissimae tabulae aeneae hieroglyphicis ... literis coelatae ...*, (1559); P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, (1567), fig. p. 105 v., pp. 124 v., 144 r., 167 v., 233 r.; L. Pignorius, *Vetustissimae tabulae aeneae ...*, (1605); Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 1 f.; Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 80-160 and pl.; L. Pignorius, *Mensa isiaca*, (1669); Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, II, 2, livre 2, ch. 1, pl. CXXXVIII; Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques ... Supplément*, VII (1767), pl. XII; K. Giehlow, "Die hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance", in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII, (1915), p. 111, note 2; E. Scamuzzi, *La "Mensa Isiaca"*, (1939). See extensive bibliography by G. Grimm, in *Jahrbuch d. Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, X, (1963), p. 214.

Vases

325. VASE from ROME, Baths of Caracalla.

Present whereabouts unknown. "Basalt".

Very damaged vase in the shape of a mill-stone, with Egyptian figures.

"Sehr zerbrochenes Basaltgefäss in Form eines unteren Mühlsteins mit Reliefdarstellung ägyptischer Figuren".

It was in the Vigna Guidi in 1882.

Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, III, p. 217, no. 4004a.

326. VASE from ROME, Temple of Fortuna beyond the Porta Portese (figs. 334-336).

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, no. 19556. Black granite. Ptolemaic (3rd century B.C.).

Waterclock found in 1859, in ruins (temp. Hadrian) in the Vigna Bonelli outside the Porta Portese, on the right bank of the Tiber, opposite the Aventine.

C. L. Visconti, in *Ann. Inst.*, (1860), pp. 437-439, pl. R, 3a, 3b; Lafaye, *Div. Alex.*, p. 334, no. 233; A. Wiedemann, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, XXIII, (1901), p. 274; H. Schäfer, in *Amtiliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXI, (1910), col. 160, fig. 80; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, pp. 415-416 (partly confused with no. 327).

327. VASE from ROME, (?) Iseum Campense (figs. 337-339).

Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, no. 2507 a. "Basalt". H. max.: 0.335 m. Ptolemaic. Inscribed (mentioning Alexander).

This fragment of waterclock was noted in the mid-17th century by J. Nardius, the learned doctor friend of Kircher, then by Kircher himself, as being at Florence in the Museo Gaddiano (fig. 345). If it is a complementary fragment to no. 328 as Golenischeff suggests, it would also come from the Iseum Campense. The carving of this fragment, however, is of better quality than that of no. 328, and I have some doubts about Golenischeff's assumption. (This fragment has been confused with no. 326 in Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, pp. 415-416).

J. Nardius, *Titi Lucreti Cari de rerum natura, Lib. Sex.* (plates at the end of the volume); Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 385, fig. II; V. S. Golenischeff, *Ermitage impérial, Inventaire de la collection Egyptienne*, (1891), pp. 374-378; A. Wiedemann, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIII, (1901), p. 271; N. A. Scholpo, *Deux fragments de clepsydres à l'Ermitage*, (Musée de l'Ermitage. Travaux du département oriental, I), pp. 155-169; A. Pogo, in *Isis*, XXIV, 2, no. 68, (1936), pp. 430-431 and fig. 1.

328. VASE from ROME, (?) Iseum Campense (figs. 339-342).

Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, no. 2507 b. "Basalt". H.: 0.205 m. Ptolemaic. Inscribed.

In the middle of the 16th century this fragment of a waterclock was in Rome, in the palace of Cardinal Carpi near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva (fig. 342), in a collection of ancient inscriptions. In the 17th century, it was mentioned by J. Nardius and by Kircher as being in the Museo Gaddiano at Florence (fig. 345). It was bought in 1887-88 by the Hermitage Museum.

Cod. Urs., opposite fol. 1 r., upper register; Guiffrey-Marcel, *Dupérac*, no. 3.865, upper register; Aldrovandi, *Statue*, p. 202; Boissard, *Top.*, I, p. 108; J. Nardius, *Titi Lucreti Cari de verum natura, Lib. Sex.* (plates at the end of the volume); Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 385, fig. I; V. S. Golenischef, *Ermitage impérial, Inventaire de la collection égyptienne*, (1891), pp. 374-378; A. Wiedemann, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIII (1901), p. 272; N. A. Scholpo, *Deux fragments de clepsydres à l'Ermitage*, (Musée de l'Ermitage. Travaux du département oriental, I), pp. 155-169; A. Pogo, in *Isis*, XXIV, 2, no. 68, (1936), pp. 430-431 and fig. 1.

329. VASE from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 343).
Rome, Museo Barracco, no. 27. "Basalt". H.: 0.38 m.
Ptolemaic (Ptolemy II). Inscribed with scenes of king before divinities.

The fragment was found on the site of the Iseum in 1856.

G. Barracco, in *Bull. Com.*, II, (1863), pp. 104-111; Matz-v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, III, p. 217, no. 4004; G. Barracco-W. Helbig, *La collection Barracco*, (1893), p. 16; pl. XI, XIa; A. Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIII, (1901), pp. 272, 273, (4); C. E. Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt*, (1936), p. 257; C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco di scultura antica*, (1949), p. 45, no. 27.

330. VASE from ROME, Iseum Campense (fig. 344).
Turin, Museo Egizio, no. suppl. 8. Red granite. H.: 0.25 m. Ptolemaic. Inscribed and with scene of king before Min.

Fragment of waterclock found on the site of the Iseum Campense, and first published in 1654 by Kircher, who had it in his private collection.

Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 384 and fig.; A. Wiedemann, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIII, (1901), pp. 273-274; A. Pogo, in *Isis*, XXIV, 2, no. 68, (1936), p. 431 and fig. 1; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.*, VII, p. 415.

331. (?) VASE from (?) ROME.
Present whereabouts unknown. Roman creation in Egyptianizing style.

Fragment of a carved stone, shaped like a mill-stone, and inscribed with spurious hieroglyphs (see no. 325). At the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, it was "apud Franciscum Nereum" (Von Hohenburg).

Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 111.

332. VASE from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 345).

Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei monumenti dell'Iseo Campense, no. 6. Black granite. H.: 0.84 m; diam.: 0.70 m.

Roman (Hadrianic). Bell-shaped crater with Egyptianizing decor.

Gusman, *Tibur*, p. 318, fig. 594; H. Winnefield, *Die Villa d. Hadrian bei Tivoli*, (1895); Stuart-Jones, *Mus. Capit.*, p. 359, no. 13, pl. 91, no. 13; Bosticco, *Mus. Cap. mon. eg.*, pp. 25-26, no. 6, pl. 5.

333. VASE from TIVOLI, Hadrian's villa (fig. 346).

Present whereabouts unknown.

Roman vase with inept hieroglyphs running along the rim and a scarab on the side of the piece. Found in Tivoli by Signore de Angeli.

Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. LXXIV, no. 2; Penna, *Viaggio*, IV, 113, 4.

APPENDIX I

EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS VISIBLE AT ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Nos.	*Object*	*History*	*Location in the Middle Ages*
ARCHITECTURE			
28	Relief	used as a step for a restoration of the Pantheon in 610	Pronaos of the Pantheon
29	Relief	discovered in 1374	Near the Collegio Romano in the Campo Marzio
OBELISKS			
68	"Caesar's tomb"	standing	In situ, south of S. Pietro
69		standing in the 5th-6th centuries	In situ, Circus Maximus
70		fallen, but visible in the 8th century	In situ, Circus Maximus
71		standing in the 8th century	In situ, Gardens of Sallust
72		fallen, but visible	In situ, Circus of Maxentius
73	"Octavian's tomb"	"restored" in the 13th century	On the Capitol
74	"Brutus' tomb"	discovered in 1374, lying; then erected	Near S. Macuto
83		standing in the 8th century; then fallen down in 1084	In situ, Sundial of the Campo Marzio
85		standing	In situ, Tiber Island
86		fallen, but visible	In situ, Circus of Varianus
PYRAMIDS			
94	"Meta Remi"	visible	In situ, near the Porta Ostiensis
95	"Meta Romuli"	visible	In situ, between the Castel Sant' Angelo and S. Pietro
ZOOMORPHIC SCULPTURE			
245	Baboon	visible	Near S. Stefano del Cacco
273-274	Lions	standing in front of the Pantheon in the 12th century; visible in the 13th; and probably buried in the 14th	In front of the Pantheon
275-276	Lions	Used as supports for Marcus Aurelius' statue	In front of S. Giovanni in Laterano

APPENDIX II

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN ROME IN THE 15th/16th CENTURIES

Nos.	*Object*	*History*	*Location*
		ARCHITECTURE	
29	?Relief	visible in the 15th/16th c.?	Rome, Campo Marzio
44	Relief	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
45	Relief	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
		OBELISKS	
68		standing near S. Pietro till 1586; re-erected in 1586	Rome, P. di S. Pietro
69		discovered in 1471; excavated in 1587; re-erected in 1588	Rome, P. del Popolo
70		excavated in 1587; erected in 1588	Rome, P. di S. Giovanni in Laterano
71		fallen, visible	Rome, Gardens of Sallust
72		fallen, visible	Rome, Circus of Maxentius
73		standing on the Capitol till 1535; lying near the Aracoeli till 1582; re-erected in 1587	Rome, Villa Mattei
74		re-erected in the beginning of the 15th c.	Rome, near S. Macuto
75		excavated in 1550; re-erected	Rome, Villa Medici
77		fragments visible	Rome, near S. Macuto
81		excavated in 1510-19; re-erected in 1587	Rome, P. dell' Esquilino
82		discovered in 1549	Rome, near the Mausoleum of Augustus
83		discovered in 1502; partly excavated in 1587	Rome, Campo Marzio
84		noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Palazzo Orsini
85		standing till 1565; then fallen	Rome, Tiber Island
86		fallen, visible till 1570; re-erected; then fallen in 1589	Rome, Circus of Varianus
88		noted in the 16th c.	Rome

Nos.	*Object*	*History*	*Location*
89		noted in the 16th c.	Rome, near S. Agnelo in Pescaria
90		noted in the 16th c.	Rome, near S. Macuto
91		noted in the 16th c.	Rome, in S. Pietro in Montorio
		Pyramids	
94	"Meta Remi" Cestius'	standing, visible	Rome, Via Ostiensis
95	"Meta Romuli"	half destroyed in 1500; still partly visible till the second half of the 16th c.	Rome, Borgo Sant' Angelo
		Anthropomorphic Sculpture	
		Gods	
98	Antinous	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
101-102	"Antinous" Telamones	discovered c. 1450	Tivoli, bishop's palace
106	Bes	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, house of A. Corvino
107	Bes	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
108	Bes	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
125	Isis	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Villa Este-Ferrara
145	Osiris Canopus	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Palazzo Carpi
150	Sekhmet	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Cesi gardens
151	Sekhmet	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
		Kings and Queens	
154b	Pharaoh	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Pantheon
161	Pharaoh	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Carpi gardens
183	Queen	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
		Private Individuals	
186	Block-Statue	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, house of M. and G. Delfini
192	Naophorus	noted in the 15th c.	Rome, Campo Marzio then Palazzo Sciarra
194	Naophorus	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Palazzo Farnese
203	Offering statue	noted in the 15th c.	Rome
210	? Priest	discovered in 1562	Rome, Museo Capitolino
216	Stelophorus	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Palazzo Carpi
		Various	
224	Statue	discovered c. 1573	Rome, Villa Este-Ferrara
230	Statue	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Villa Este-Ferrara
231	Statue	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Villa Medici

Nos.	*Object*	*History*	*Location*
	ZOOMORPHIC SCULPTURE		
242	Apis-bull	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, monastery of S. Maria/Minerva
245	Baboon	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, near S. Stefano del Cacco; in 1562, in the Museo Capitolino
247	Baboon	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Palazzo Carpi
248	Baboon	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Museo Capitolino
249	Baboon	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Cesi gardens
250	Baboon	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
255-256	Crocodiles	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Cesi gardens
260	Falcon	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
268-270	Lions	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Cesi gardens
271-272	Lions	discovered in 1435	Rome, near S. Stefano del Cacco; then on the Capitol
273-274	Lions	discovered in 1435	Rome, in front of the Pantheon; in 1586, at the Acqua Felice
275-276	Lions	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, S.Giov. in Laterano; in 1586, at the Acqua Felice
281	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Villa Giulia
283	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Villa Este-Ferrara
284-285	Sphinxes	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Capitol
286-287	Sphinxes	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Belvedere gardens
288	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, house of Savelli
289-290	Sphinxes	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Cesi gardens
291	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Carpi gardens
292	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Mattei gardens
293	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Villa Giulia
294-295	Sphinxes	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, house of Fusconi da Norcia
296	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, house of Galli
297	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
298	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
299	Sphinx	noted in the 16th c.	Rome
	VARIOUS		
324	Table "Mensa Isiaca"	Discovered in the early 16th c., in (?) Rome	Padova, Bembo collection
328	Vase	noted in the 16th c.	Rome, Palazzo Carpi
331	Vase	noted in the 16th c.	?

APPENDIX III

MONUMENTS EXPORTED FROM EGYPT TO IMPERIAL ROME

Nos.	*Object*	*Dynasty*	*Pharaoh*	*Provenance*
			ARCHITECTURE	
24	Relief	XXX	Nectanebo I	Heliopolis
27	Relief	XXX	Nectanebo II	Behbet el-Hagar
41	Relief	?Ptolemaic	?	?
44	Relief	Ptolemaic	Ptolemy II	Sais
56	Relief	?XXVI		?
58	Relief	XIX	Ramesses II	?
61	Relief	?	?	?
			OBELISKS	
68		?XXX	?Nectanebo II	Alexandria
69		XIX	Sethos I/ Ramesses II	Heliopolis
70		XVIII	Tuthmosis III/IV	Karnak
71		?	?	?
73		XIX	Ramesses II	Heliopolis
74		XIX	Ramesses II	Heliopolis
75		XIX	Ramesses II	Heliopolis
76		XIX	Ramesses II	Heliopolis
77		XXVI/XIX	Apries/ Ramesses II	Sais/Heliopolis
78		XXVI	Apries	Sais
83		XXVI	Psammetichus II	Heliopolis
90		?XXVI	?	?
			ANTHROPOMORPHIC SCULPTURE	
			GODS	
104	Apis	?XXVI-XXX	?	?
113	Horus	XIX	?	?
115	Isis	?Ptolemaic	?	?
119	Isis	?Ptolemaic	?	?
121	Isis	Ptolemaic	?	?
123	Isis	XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
127	Isis	Ptolemaic	?	?
132	Isis	Ptolemaic	?	?
136	Isis	?Ptolemaic	?	?
144b	Osiris Canopus	Roman	?	?Alexandria

Nos.	*Object*	*Dynasty*	*Pharaoh*	*Provenance*
147	Osiris Canopus	Roman	?	?Alexandria
150	Sekhmet	XIX	temp. Ramesses II	Thebes
151	Sekhmet-Wenut	XXVI	?	Hermopolis

Kings and Queens

153	Pharaoh	Ptolemaic	Ptolemy II	Heliopolis
154a	Pharaoh	Ptolemaic	?	?
154b	Pharaoh	XII	Ammenemes III	?
156	Pharaoh	Ptolemaic	?	?
157	Pharaoh	XIX	?Ramesses II	?
158	Pharaoh	XIX	Ramesses II	?Heliopolis
159	Pharaoh	Ptolemaic	?	?
160	Pharaoh	XXV	Shabaka	Karnak
166	Pharaoh	?Ptolemaic	?	?
167a	Pharaoh	XXX	Nectanebo II	?
170	Pharaoh	?Ptolemaic	?	?
171	Pharaoh	?Ptolemaic	?	?
174	Pharaoh	?Ptolemaic	?	?
176	Pharaoh	XXVI	Amasis	Elephantine
177	Pharaoh	Ptolemaic	Ptolemy II	?
178	Pharaoh	?XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
179	Queen	XIX	Sethos I	?
180	Queen	Ptolemaic	Ptolemy II	?
182	Queen	Ptolemaic	?	?

Private Individuals

186	Block statue	?XXV-XXVI	?	?
187	Naophorus	?XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
189	Naophorus	?Ptolemaic	?	?
190	Naophorus	?XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
191	Naophorus	XXVI	?temp. Amasis	?
193	Naophorus	XXVII	?temp. Artaxerxes	Memphis
194	Naophorus	?XXVII	?	?
195	Naophorus	XXVII	?	?
196	Naophorus	XXVI	temp. Psammetichus II	?
197	Naophorus	XXVI	?	?
198	Naophorus	XXVII	temp. Darius	?
199	Naophorus	?XXVI-XXX	?	?
200	Naophorus	XXVI-XXVII	?	?
209	Priest	XXIX	?	?Akhmim
212	Priest	?XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?

Nos.	Object	Dynasty	Pharaoh	Provenance
214	Priest	XXX	?	?
215	Stelophorus	Ptolemaic	?	?
216	Stelophorus	?XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?

ANTHROPOMORPHIC SCULPTURE

VARIOUS

219	Magical statue	XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
221	Statue	XIX	?	?
222	Statue	XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	Behbet el-Hagar
223	Statue	Ptolemaic	?	?
226	Magical statue	XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
229	Statue	XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
231	Statue	XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
232	Statue	Ptolemaic	?	?

ZOOMORPHIC SCULPTURE

243-244	Baboons	XXX	Nectanebo II	?Hermopolis Parva
250	Falcon	XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
265	Falcon	?XXX	?	?
266	Hathor Cow	XXII	Osorkon I	?
268-270	Lions	?Ptolemaic	?	?Alexandria
271-272	Lions	Ptolemaic	?	?
273-274	Lions	XXX	Nectanebo I	Memphis/ Hermopolis Parva
278	Sphinx	XVIII	temp. Tuthmosis III	?
279	Sphinx	XXVI	Amasis	?
284	Sphinx	XXIX	Nepherites I	?
285	Sphinx	XXIX	Achoris	?
301a	Sphinx	?Ptolemaic	?	?
301b	Sphinx	?Ptolemaic	?	?
302	Sphinx	XII	?	?

VARIOUS

314	Canopic jar	?XXVI-XXX	?	?
316	Cippus	Ptolemaic	?	?
317	Cippus	?XVIII-XIX/ XXVI-XXX	?	?

Nos.	*Object*	*Dynasty*	*Pharaoh*	*Provenance*
318	Cippus	?XXVI-XXX/ Ptolemaic	?	?
319	Naos	XIX	Sethos I	?
326	Vase	Ptolemaic	?	?
327	Vase	Ptolemaic	Alexander	?
328	Vase	Ptolemaic	?	?
329	Vase	Ptolemaic	Ptolemy II	?
330	Vase	Ptolemaic	?	?

APPENDIX IV

MONUMENTS CREATED AT ROME

Nos.	*Object*
Architecture	
1-5	Antefixes
6-15	Capitals
16-20	Columns
21	Frieze
22-23	Pediments
25-26, 28, 30, 33, 35-40, 42-43, 46-55, 47, 59-60, 62-67	Reliefs
Obelisks	
72, 81-82, 85-88, 92	
Pyramids	
94-95	
Anthropomorphic Sculpture	
Gods	
96-103	Antinous
105, 109-111	Bes
112	Harpocrates
114, 117, 120, 122, 124-126, 128-131, 133-135, 137-138	Isis
139	Min
140	Nile
141-143	Osiris
144a, 146, 148	Osiris Canopus
149	Ptah
Kings and Queens	
155, 163-165, 167b-169, 172-173, 175, 181, 184-185	Pharaohs
181, 184-185	Queens
Private Individuals	
188	Naophori
201-202, 204-208	Offering statues
210-211, 213	Priests
Anthropomorphic Sculpture	
Various	
218, 225, 228, 233-241	

Nos.	Object
ZOOMORPHIC SCULPTURE	
245, 248, 251-253	Baboons
254-259	Crocodiles
260, 262-264	Falcons
267	Hathor Cow
275-276	Lions
277, 280-282, 286-287, 300, 303-313	Sphinxes
VARIOUS	
315	Canopic jar
320	Stela
321-323	Supports
324	Table
331-333	Vases

ADDENDA

p. 64 (no. 46)

The group may well represent the Isiac triad: Serapis (headless), Isis, and Harpocrates.

p. 83 (no. 88)

The record of the obelisk in the *Codex Ursinianus* belies the statement of A. F. Gori, *Inscriptionum antiquarum graecarum et romanarum quae exstant in Etruriae urbibus*, I, (1727), fol. xxxv, that it was brought to Florence from Egypt by Hieronymus (Girolamo) Vecchietti(us), in about 1600.

p. 84 (no. 93)

The obelisk is in fact of comparatively recent date.

p. 85 and p. 107 (no. 173)

A sketch by Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg (1783-1853) now in the Danish royal collection of prints in Copenhagen (no. Td. 588,4) shows what is evidently this statue standing upon a Roman inscribed stone in a corner of the Barberini gardens, where it remained until sold in 1930. See: Thorvaldsens Museum, *Møde med Italien*, (1971), p. 55, no. 112. It is clear from Eckersberg's drawing that the figure was an Antinous.

Another, smaller, Egyptianizing Antinous was noted in the gardens of the Villa Borghese by J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, (1764), p. 35.

CAPTIONS TO THE FIGURES

1. Smiling sphinx. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano, cloister. (Photo. A. Roullet).
2. Smiling sphinx. Cività Castellana, cathedral, choir-screen. (Photo. A. Roullet).
3. Smiling sphinx. Ferentino, cathedral, sacristy door. (Photo. A. Roullet).
4. Bearded sphinx. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano, cloister. (Photo. A. Roullet).
5. Pair of sphinxes. Anagni, cathedral, Paschal candelabrum. (Photo. A. Roullet).
6. Sphinx. Viterbo, Museo Civico. (After A. Venturi).
7. Recumbent lion. Rome, SS. Apostoli, porch. (Photo. A. Roullet).
8. Idem.
9. Lion. Rome, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, porch. (Photo. A. Roullet).
10. Idem.
11. Lion. Rome, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, choir. (Photo. A. Roullet).
12. Lion. Ferentino, cathedral, sacristy door. (Photo. A. Roullet).
13. Egyptianizing lion. Anagni, cathedral, episcopal throne (left). (Photo. A. Roullet).
14. The sites of discoveries of the major Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments in Italy.
15. The sites of discoveries of the major Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of Imperial Rome.
16. A 17th century reconstruction of the Iseum Campense. Engraving from Kircher, *Ob. aeg.*, p. 7. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
17. The area of the Iseum Campense in 1557, with the Pantheon, the Arco di Camigliano and the obelisk near S. Macuto. From Lafreri, map of Rome, 1557. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, estampes, Paris).
18. Memphis, Serapeum, chapels of the dromos. (From J. P. Lauer-Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaiques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, (1955), pl. 17).
19. Memphis, Serapeum, view of the dromos and of its monuments

(From J. P. Lauer-Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaiques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, (1955), pl. 17).

20. Ariccia relief. Rome, Museo Nazionale, no. 77255. (Photo. DAIR).
21. Relief. Berlin, Äg. Museum, no. 16777. (Photo. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
22. The facade of the Iseum Campense as shown on a Vespasian coin. Berlin, Münzkabinet, coll. Martinelli, no. 1748. (From H. Dressel, in *Sitzungberichte der königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, (1910), VII, pp. 10-13, fig. 4).
23. Plan of the small Iseum in the Serapeum of Alexandria.
24. Plan of the Iseum of Pompeii.
25. A column presumably from the Iseum Campense. Rome, Palazzo Massimo. (Photo. A. Roullet).
26. Via del Beato Angelico near the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva, where the major discoveries of the Iseum Campense have been made. (Photo. A. Roullet).
27. Cat. no. 1. (Photo. M. Floriani Squarciapino).
28. Cat. no. 2. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
29. Cat. no. 3. (Photo. O. Savio, Rome).
30. Cat. no. 4. Woodcut from Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 61. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
31. Cat. no. 5. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
32. Cat. no. 6. (Photo. A. Roullet).
33. Cat. no. 7. (Photo. Soprintendenza alle antichità di Roma).
34. Cat. no. 8. (Photo. DAIR).
35. Cat. no. 9. (Photo. A. Roullet).
36. Cat. no. 15. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
37. Cat. no. 16. (Photo. X).
38. Cat. no. 16. Woodcut from Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, I, p. 226. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

39-47. Cat. nos. 17-19. (Photo. O. Savio, Rome).

48. Cat. no. 20. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
49. Cat. no. 21. (Photo. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

50-51. Cat. nos. 22-23. (Photo. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

52. Cat. no. 24. (Photo. Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna).
53. Cat. no. 27. (Photo. X).
54. Cat. no. 28. From *Bull. Com.*, IV, (1876), figs. 3-4. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
55. Cat. no. 35. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).

56. Cat. no. 36. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
57. Cat. no. 37. (Photo. X).
58. Cat. no. 39. (Photo. Soprintendenza del foro romano e palatino, Rome).
59. Cat. no. 40. (Photo. O. Savio, Rome).
60. Cat. no. 41. (Photo. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen).
61. Cat. no. 42. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
62. Cat. no. 44. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus*, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 6 r. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
63-64. Cat. no. 45. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus*, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 8 r., 9 r. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
65. Cat. no. 46. Dal Pozzo, drawing in Windsor Castle Library, no. 8580. (By courtesy of Her Majesty the Queen Elizabeth II).
66. Cat. no. 49. Engraving from Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. LXXXIII, nos. 3 and 4. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
67. Cat. no. 50. Engraving from Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, I, pl. LVI, no. 3. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
68. Cat. no. 52. (Photo. Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst, Munich).
69. Cat. no. 53. (Photo. J. Baines).
70. Cat. no. 54. (Photo. J. Baines).
71. Cat. no. 55. (Photo. J. Baines).
72. Cat. no. 56. (Photo. J. Baines).
73. Cat. no. 57. (Photo. A. Roullet).
74. Cat. no. 58. (Photo. J. Baines).
75. Cat. no. 59. (Photo. Musée du Louvre, Paris).
76. Cat. no. 60. (Photo. Musée du Louvre, Paris).
77. Cat. no. 62. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
78. Cat. no. 63. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
79. Cat. no. 64. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
80. Cat. no. 66. (Photo. A. Roullet).
81. Cat. no. 67. From Roccheggiani, *Raccolta*, II, pl. LXVIII, no. 2. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
82. Cat. no. 68. Drawing by Cronaca, in Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. no. 1352 v. The left of the drawing gives an accurate description of the Vatican obelisk, with its bronze ball and its base; the right shows a fragment of one of the two obelisks of the temple of Fortuna in Palestrina. (Photo. Gernika, Bayonne).

83. Cat. no. 69. Drawing by S. V. Pighius, in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung, *Codex Pighianus,* Ms. Lat. Fol. 61, fol. 99 v. It shows a fragment of relief with the Circus Maximus and its obelisk. (Photo. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin).
84. Cat. no. 71. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 3 r. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
85. Cat. no. 72. Drawing by G. da Sangallo, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Barberino Latino 4424, fol. 62 r. It shows, on the far right, the Vatican obelisk and, left of it, Domitian's. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
86. Cat. no. 72. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 6 v. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
87. Cat. no. 73. Woodcut from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,* showing the Capitoline obelisk. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
88. Cat. no. 73. Drawing by M. van Heemskerck, in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, sketchbook I, fol. 11 r., detail. (Photo. W. Steinkopf, Berlin).
89. Cat. no. 73. One of the lions from the plinth of the Capitoline obelisk, now in the Mattei gardens in Rome, under a sarcophagus. (Photo. A. Roullet).
90. Cat. no. 73. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 5 r., detail. (Photo Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
91. Cat. no. 74. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 3 v. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
92. Cat. no. 74. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 4 r. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
93. Cat. no. 75. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 4 v. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
94. Cat. no. 77. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 5 v. It shows four fragments of obelisks: the two bottom belong to an obelisk of Apries, the top right to an obelisk of Ramesses II, while the top left is unidentified (= cat. no. 90). (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).

95. Cat. no. 85. Drawing by Cronaca, in Oxford, Christ Church inv. 0814 r. From left to right:
    - obelisk composed of two fragments. The upper part belongs to cat. no. 73 (see fig. 90). The lower part belongs to cat. no. 74 (see fig. 92, right).
    - obelisk cat. no. 74 (see fig. 92, left).
    - obelisk composed of three fragments. The two upper fragments belong to an obelisk of Apries, cat. no. 77 (see fig. 94, bottom left). The lower part belongs to an obelisk of Ramesses II, also cat. no. 77 (see fig. 94, top right).
    - obelisk from the Tiber Island: this is up to now the only known drawing of the obelisk.

    (Photo. M. R. Dudley, Oxford).
96. Cat. no. 85. The Tiber Island in 1557, showing a tiny obelisk in front of S. Bartolomeo. From Lafreri, map of Rome, 1557. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, estampes, Paris).
97. Cat. no. 85. A reconstruction of the Tiber Island in Imperial times, by Pirro Ligorio. In Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, manuscrits, 839 Ital. 1129, p. 305. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
98. Cat. no. 85. Four fragments of the Tiber Island obelisk. Woodcut from Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, p. 380. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
99. Cat. no. 85. One of the fragments of the Tiber Island obelisk seen by Kircher (see fig. 98, top left). Paris, Musée du Louvre, N. 149. (Photo. Musée du Louvre, Paris).
100. Cat. no. 85. One of the fragments of the Tiber Island obelisk seen by Kircher (see fig. 98, bottom left). Paris, Musée du Louvre, N. 148. (Photo. Musée du Louvre, Paris).
101. Cat. no. 85. One of the fragments of the obelisk of the Tiber Island seen by Kircher (see fig. 98, bottom right). Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 2324. (Photo. J. Baines.)
102. Engraving from R. Pococke, *A Description of the East*, (1743), III, pl. XCI. The misleading caption of this engraving has made many people think that it represented four fragments of the Tiber Island obelisk. In fact, the two lower fragments only belong to this obelisk (see figs. 98-100). The upper part of the engraving shows the two sides of a stela, cat. no. 320 (see figs. 328-329). (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

103. Cat. no. 87. (Photo. O. Savio, Rome).
104. Cat. no. 88. (Photo. J. Baines).
105. Cat. no. 88, detail. (Photo. J. Baines).
106. Cat. no. 88. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus*, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 7 r. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
107-110. Cat. no. 88. Woodcuts from Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 350, 355, 360, 363. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
111. Unidentified fragment. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus*, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 2 v. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
112. Cat. no. 94. (Photo. A. Roullet).
113. Miniature by Pol de Limbourg, *Très riches heures du duc de Berry*, fol. 141 v., in Chantilly, Musée Condé. This plan of Rome shows quite distinctly the two pyramids still extant in the city: the pyramid of Cestius, cat. no. 94, built in the city wall, and the Vatican pyramid, cat. no. 95, between Castel Sant'Angelo and the Vatican basilica. The obelisk lying in the centre could be the large obelisk of the Circus Maximus, of which the presence was known at the time (cat. no. 70). (Photo. Giraudon, Paris).
114. Miniature by Jean Colombe, *Très riches heures du duc de Berry*, in Chantilly, Musée Condé. This represents part of a procession in the Vatican city. Castel Sant'Angelo is on the right, topped by St. Michael drawing his sword. Immediately on its left, and just before the campanile of St. Peter's, the top of the Vatican pyramid shows above the roofs. (Photo. Giraudon, Paris).
115. Woodcut from *Cronica cronicarum ab initio mundi usque ad annum 1493*, Nuremberg, (1493), fol. LVIII. View of Rome at the end of the 15th century, with the Vatican pyramid (*meta Romuli*) between St. Peter's and Castel Sant'Angelo. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, estampes, Paris).
116. Cat. no. 98. (Photo. Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst, Munich).
117. Cat. no. 98. Drawing by Dupérac, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, manuscrits, Ms. Fr. 382, fol. 11 r. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
118. Cat. no. 100. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
119. Cat. nos. 101-102. Drawing by G. da Sangallo, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Barberino Lat. 4423, fol. 41 r. On the upper part

of the drawing, there is a clumsy study of the Tivoli telamones. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).

120. Cat. nos. 101-102. Drawing by B. Peruzzi, in Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, S. IV. 7, fol. 47 v., detail. A study of one of the Tivoli telamones. (Photo. Grandi Silvio, Siena).
121. Cat. no. 104. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
122. Cat. no. 105. (From P. E. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche,* (1884), pl. 5).
123. Cat. no. 106. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 10 v., detail. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
124. Cat. no. 107. Drawing from *Codex Ursianinus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 10 v., detail. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
125. Cat. no. 108. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 10 v., detail. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
126. Cat. no. 109. (Photo. Soprintendenza alle antichità, Palermo).
127. Cat. no. 110. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
128. Cat. no. 111. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
129. Cat. no. 112. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
130. Cat. no. 113. (Photo. Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst, Munich).
131. Cat. no. 113. Woodcut from Kircher, *Oed. aeg.,* III, p. 501. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
132. Cat. no. 114. (Photo. O. Savio, Rome).
133. Cat. no. 119. (Photo. A. Roullet).
134-135. Cat. no. 120. (Photo. Musée du Louvre, Paris).
136-138. Cat. no. 121. (From P. Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule,* (1912), pls. LXVI-LXVII).
139. Cat. no. 122. (Photo. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
140-141. Cat. no. 123. (Photo. Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst, Munich).
142. Cat. no. 123. Engraving from J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens,* I, pl. XI, showing the statue as it had been since Hadrian's time, with the priest's head on an Isis body. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
143. Cat. no. 124. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
144. Cat. no. 125. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
145. Cat. no. 125. Drawing by Dupérac, in Paris, Bibliothèque

nationale, manuscrits, Ms. Fr. 382, fol. 8. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
146. Cat. no. 126. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
147. Cat. no. 127. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
148. Cat. no. 128. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
149. Cat. no. 129. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
150. Cat. no. 130. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
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152. Cat. no. 134. Engraving from D. de Rossi, *Raccolta de statue antiche e moderne,* (1706), pl. CXLIX. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
153. Cat. no. 135. (Photo. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago).
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156. Cat. no. 137. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
157. Cat. no. 138. Engraving from *Engravings...in the Collection of Henry Blundell,* (1809), pl. 33, 3. (Photo. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).
158. Cat. no. 139. (Photo. Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst, Munich).
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160-161. Cat. nos. 141-142. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
162. Cat. no. 143. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
163. Cat. no. 144a. Engraving from Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pl. between pp. 434-435, fig. 1 (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).
164. Cat. no. 146. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
165. Cat. no. 148. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
166. Cat. no. 149. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).
167. Cat. no. 150. Drawing by L. Lombard, in Liège, Musée des Beaux Arts, cabinet des dessins, Album de la collection d'Arenberg, fol. 63, detail. The Sekhmet statue, which was damaged at its base, was "restored" by Lombard as a herm. (Photo. X).
168. Cat. no. 150. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* after Pirro Ligorio, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 9 v., detail. Another "restoration" imagined, this time, by Pirro Ligorio. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).
169. Cat. no. 150. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus,* in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 5 r., detail. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).

170. Cat. no. 150. Engraving from J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens*, I, pl. IX. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

171-174. Cat. no. 151. (Photo. Musée du Louvre, Paris).

175. Cat. no. 151. Engraving from Von Hohenburg, *Thesaurus*, fig. 41. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

176. Cat. no. 152. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).

177. Cat. no. 153. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Paris).

178. Cat. no. 154a. The photograph shows a cast of the actual piece. (Photo. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen).

179. Cat. no. 154b. (From F. Lenormant, in *Bull. Com.*, (1877), pl. 9).

180. Cat. no. 154b. Drawing from *Codex Ursinianus*, after Pirro Ligorio, in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 9 v., detail. The drawing was made when the statue, though damaged, still had fragments of its legs and base, with the fish characteristic of this type of monument. (Photo. Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome).

181. Cat. no. 155. (Photo. O. Savio, Rome).

182. Cat. no. 156. (From P. Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule*, (1912), pl. XXVI).

183. Cat. no. 158. (Photo. O. Savio, Rome).

184. Cat. no. 159. (From G. Barracco-W. Helbig, *La collection Barracco*, (1893), pl. 10.

185. Cat. no. 160. (Photo. Alinari, Rome).

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188. Cat. no. 162. Engraving from *Engravings...in the collection of Henry Blundell Esq.*, (1809), pl. 45, 1. (Photo. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

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192. Cat. no. 166. (Photo. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

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218. Cat. nos. 192 and 203. Drawing by Cronaca, in Oxford, Christ Church inv. no. 0814 v. The drawing is very damaged and one can hardly make out, on the print, the two Egyptian monuments represented on the bottom of the page. Left, there is a fragment of a naophorus, cat. no. 192, a standing statue with a cylindrical body of which the shoulders and the base

are missing; it holds a small naos. Right, there is a fragment of a kneeling offering statue, cat. no. 203, holding a bowl; the upper part is missing. (Photo. M. R. Dudley, Oxford).

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240. Cat. no. 214. (Photo. Museo Vaticano, Rome).

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242. Cat. no. 217. (Photo. Museo Ostiense).

243. Cat. no. 222. (Photo. A. Roullet).

244-245. Cat. no. 226. Woodcut from Kircher, *Oed. aeg.*, III, pp. 507-508. (Photo. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris).

246. Cat. no. 232. (Photo. A.C.L., Bruxelles).

247. Cat. no. 240. Engraving from *Engravings...in the Collection of Henry Blundell Esq.*, (1809), pl. 33, 1. (Photo. Ashmolean Museum Oxford).

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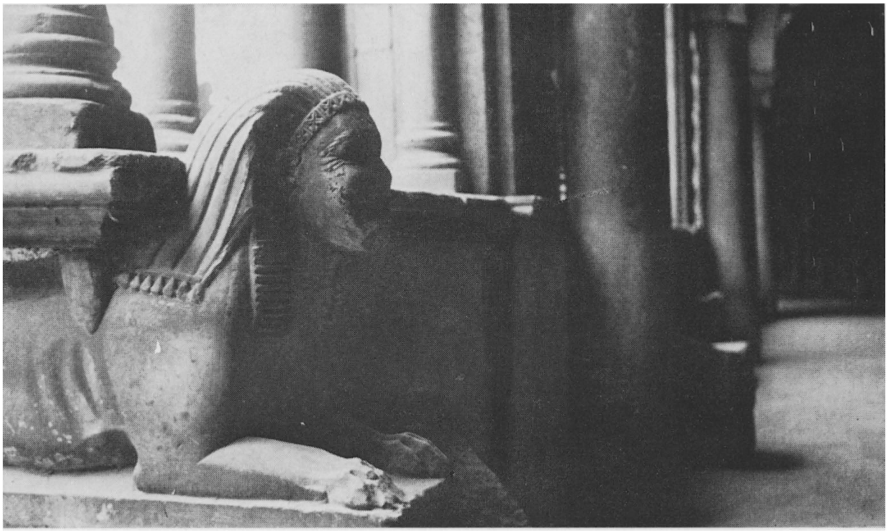

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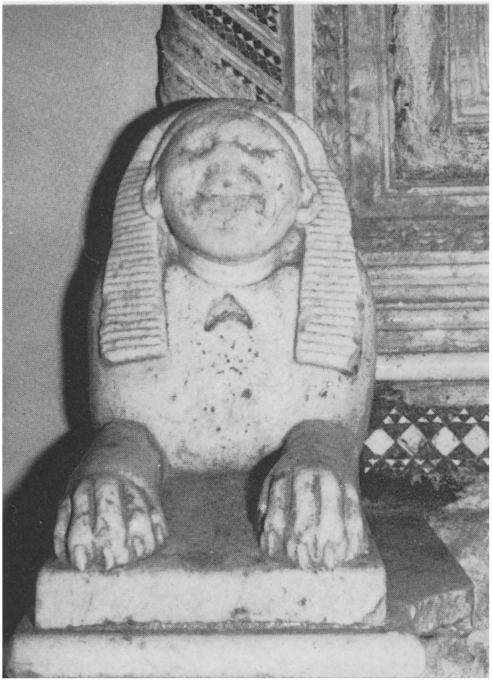

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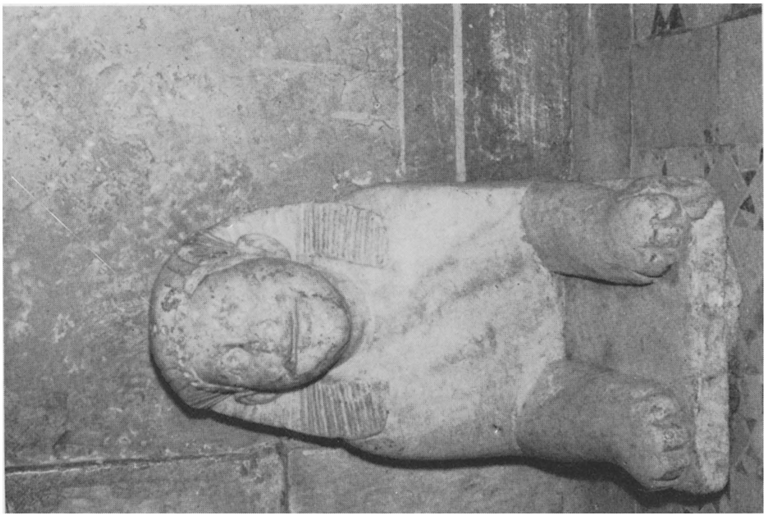

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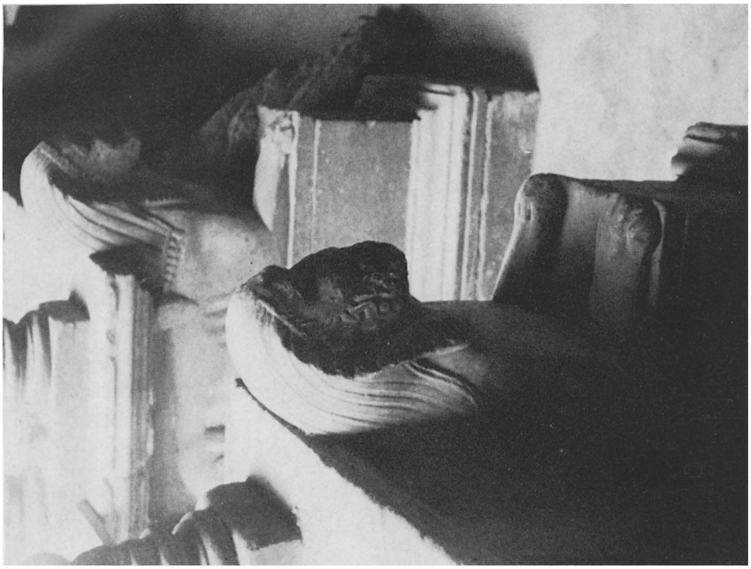
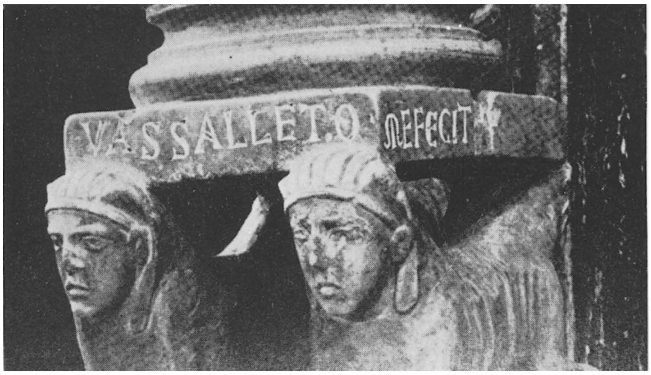


4

PLATE III


VASSALLETO ME FECIT

5

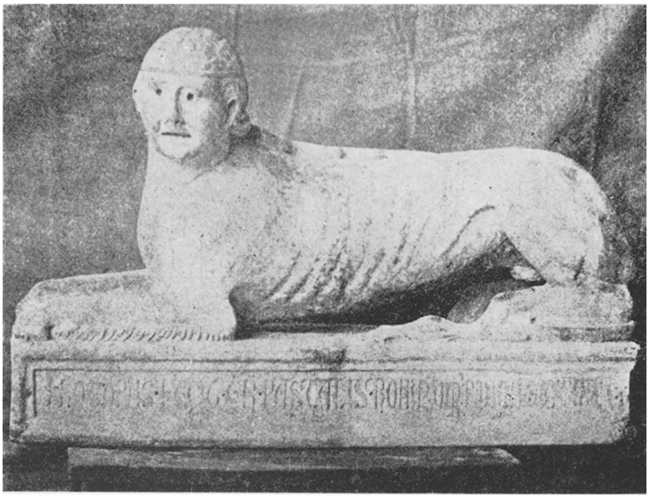


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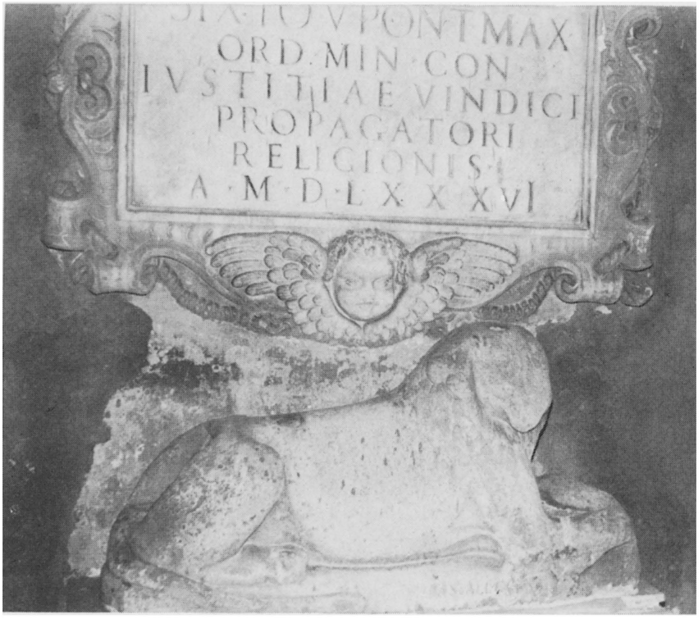
PLATE IV


V PONT MAX
ORD·MIN·CON
IVSTITIAE VINDICI
PROPAGATORI
RELIGIONIS
A·M·D·L·X·X·XVI

7

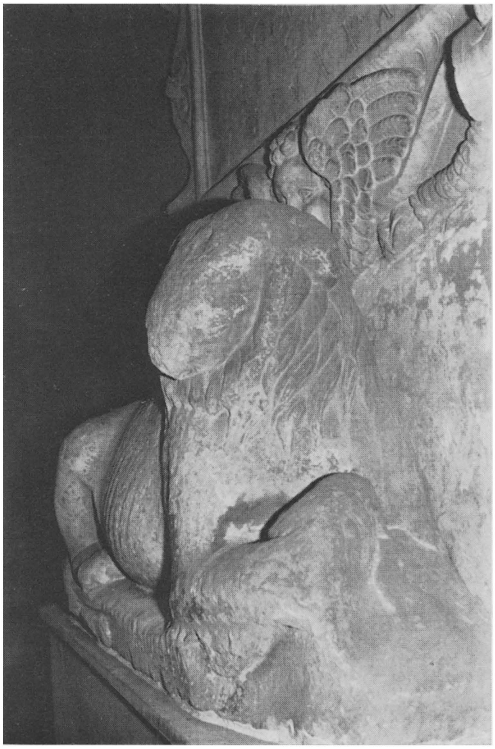


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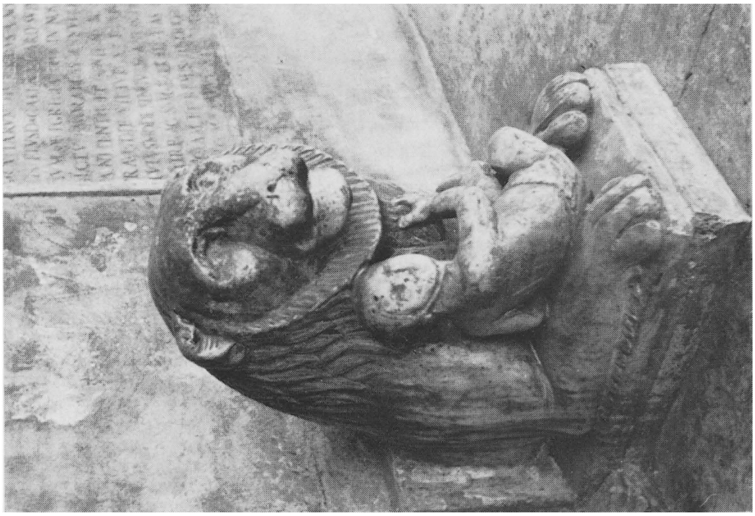
PLATE V



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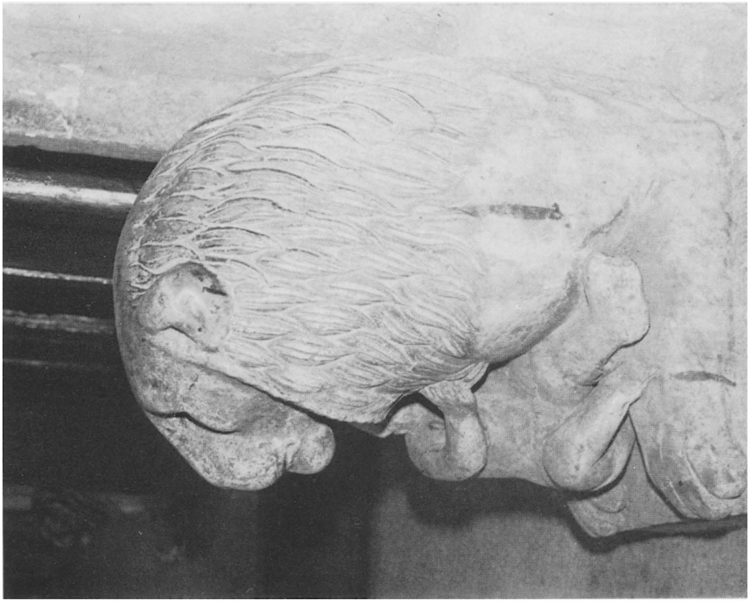

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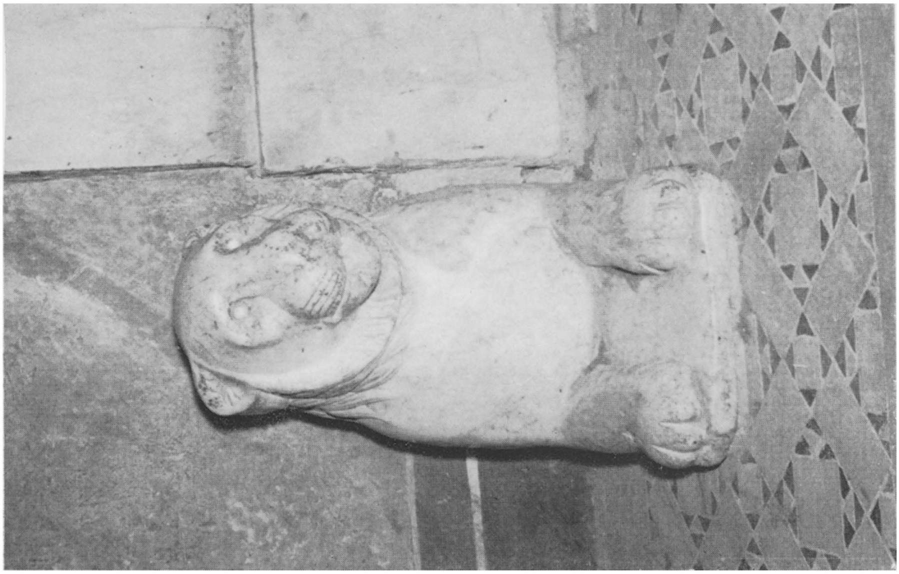
PLATE VI



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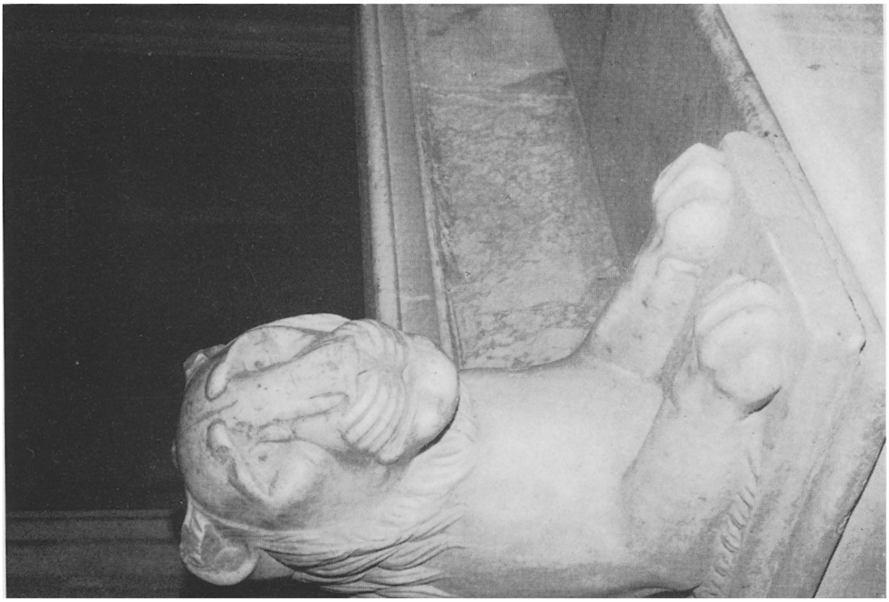

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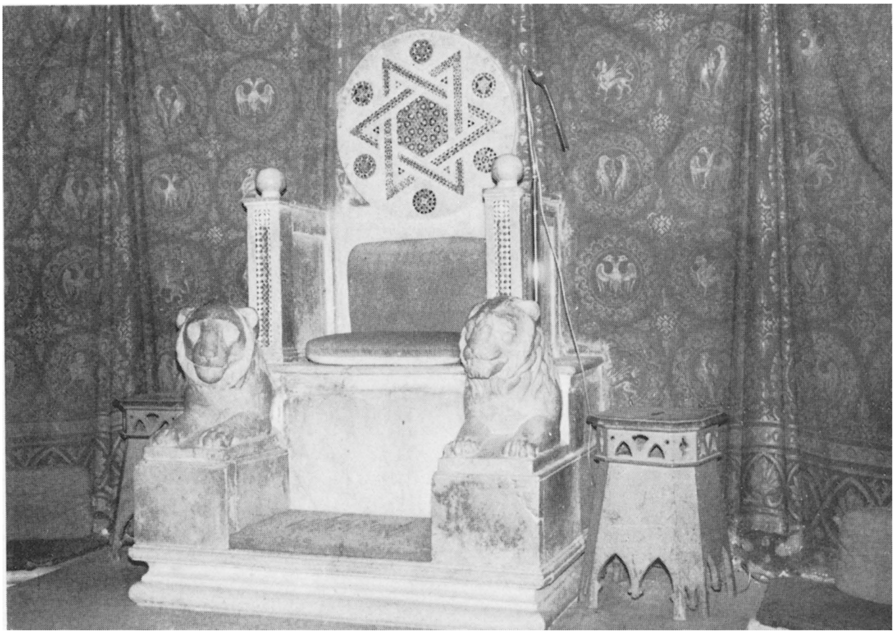


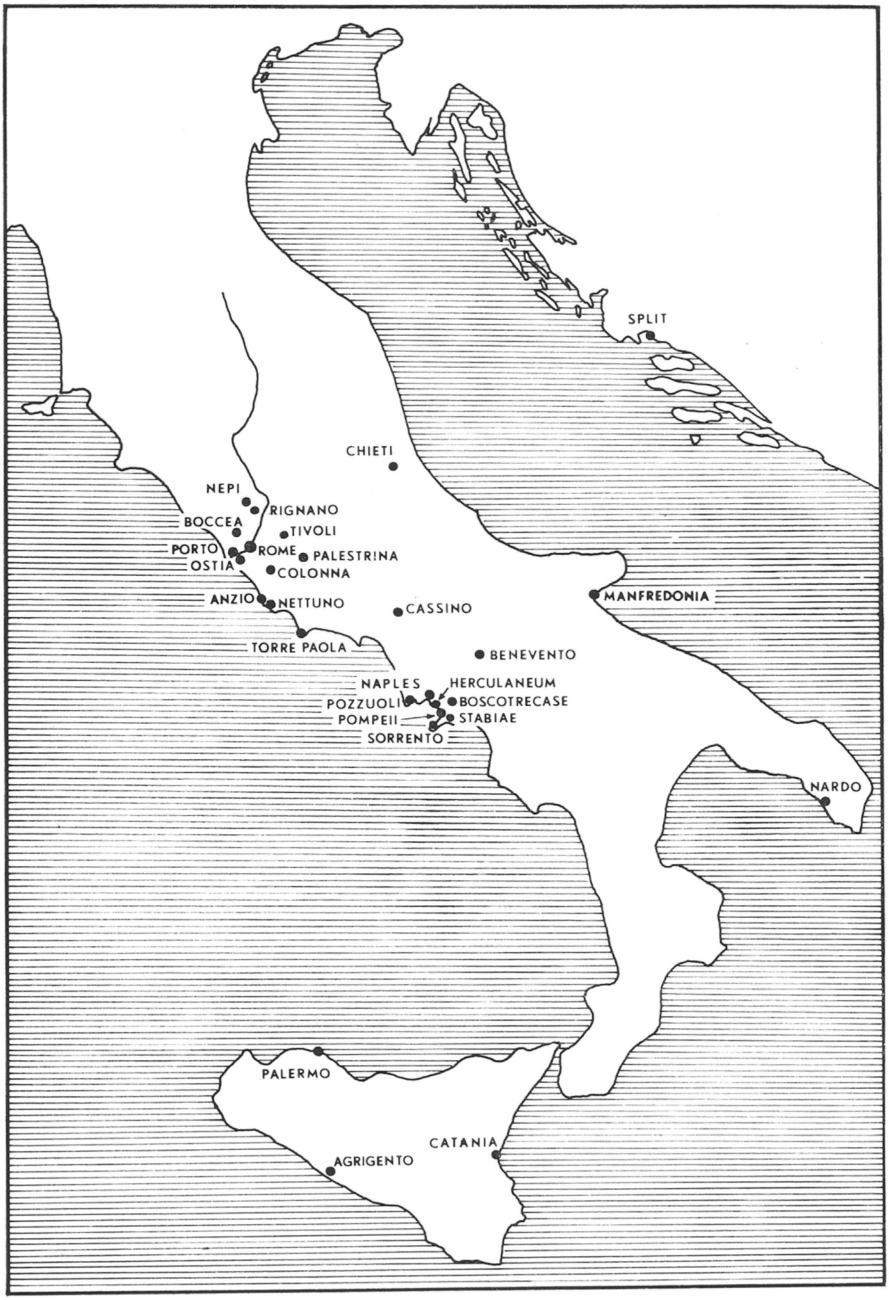

SPLIT
CHIETI
NEPI
RIGNANO
BOCCEA
TIVOLI
PORTO
ROME
PALESTRINA
OSTIA
COLONNA
ANZIO
NETTUNO
MANFREDONIA
CASSINO
TORRE PAOLA
BENEVENTO
NAPLES
HERCULANEUM
POZZUOLI
BOSCOTRECASE
POMPEII
STABIAE
SORRENTO
NARDO
PALERMO
CATANIA
AGRIGENTO

PLATE IX

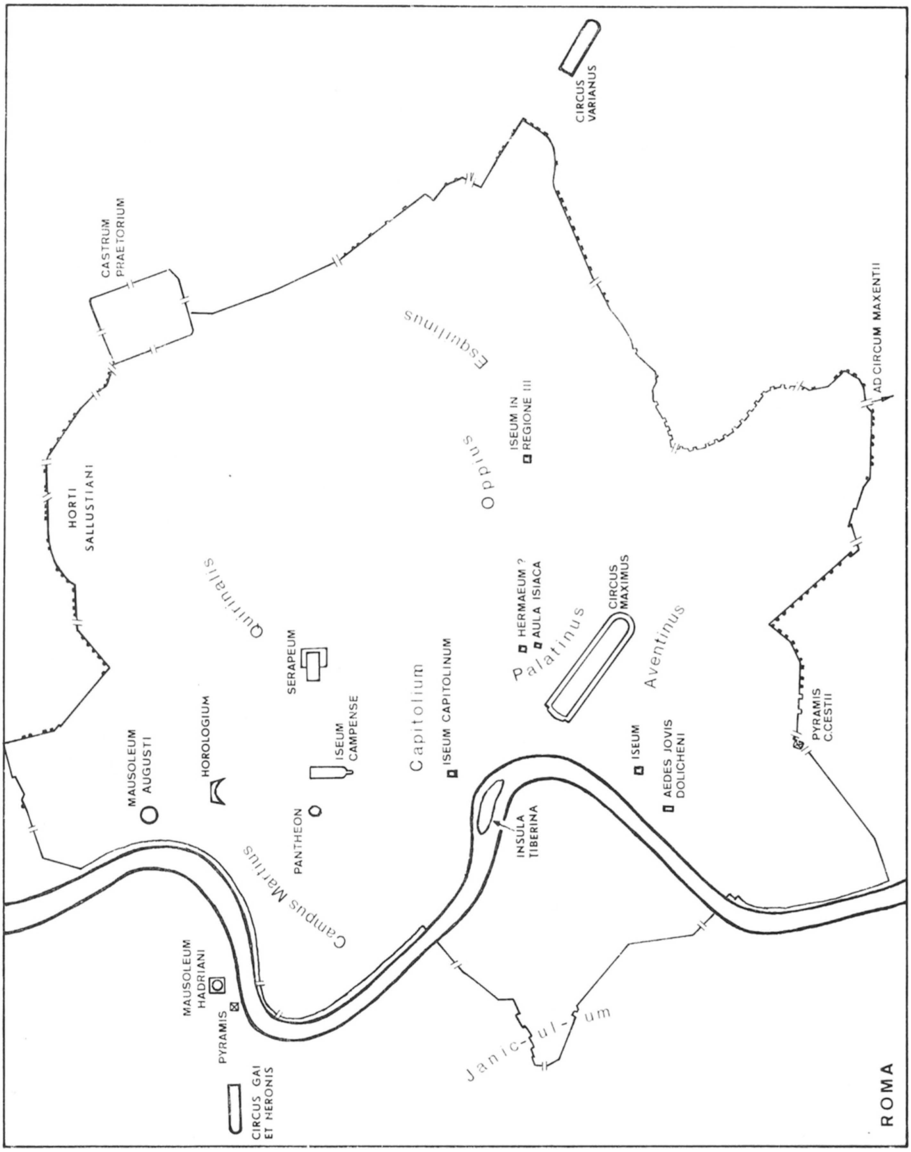

ROMA
CIRCUS VARIANUS
CASTRUM PRAETORIUM
Esquilinus
AD CIRCUM MAXENTII
ISEUM IN REGIONE III
Oppius
HORTI SALLUSTIANI
Quirinalis
HERMAEUM ?
AULA ISIACA
CIRCUS MAXIMUS
Palatinus
Aventinus
SERAPEUM
Capitolium
ISEUM CAPITOLINUM
HOROLOGIUM
ISEUM CAMPENSE
MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI
PANTHEON
ISEUM
AEDES JOVIS DOLICHENI
PYRAMIS C.CESTII
INSULA TIBERINA
Campus Martius
MAUSOLEUM HADRIANI
PYRAMIS
CIRCUS GAI ET NERONIS
Janic-ul-um

PLATE X

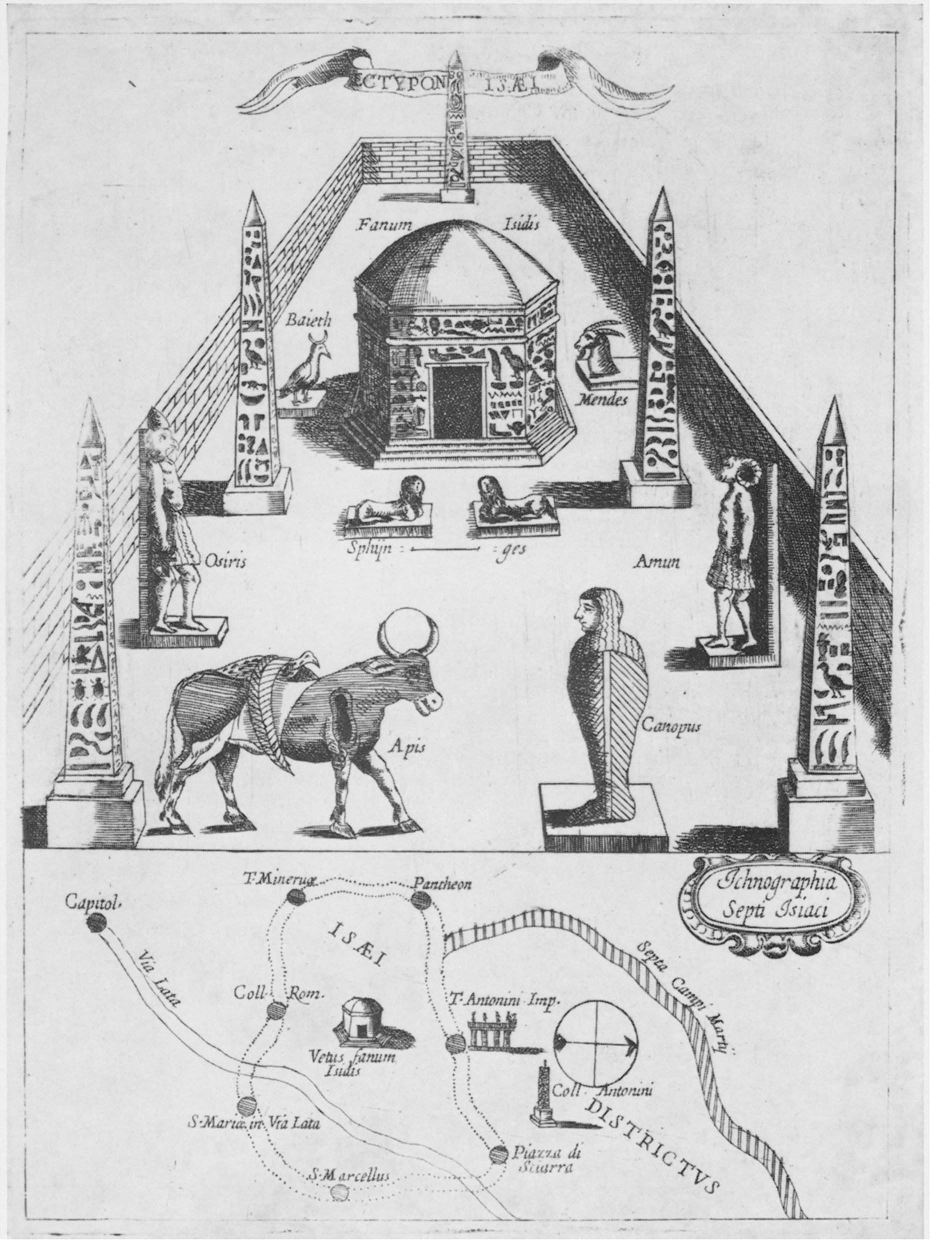

ECTYPON ISÆI
Fanum Isidis
Baieth
Mendes
Osiris
Amun
Sphyn- ges
Apis
Canopus
Ichnographia Septi Isiaci
T. Minervæ
Pantheon
Capitol.
ISÆI
Via Lata
Septa Campi Martij
Coll. Rom.
T. Antonini Imp.
Vetus fanum Isidis
Coll. Antonini
DISTRICTUS
S. Mariæ in Via Lata
Piazza di Sciarra
S. Marcellus

Plate XI

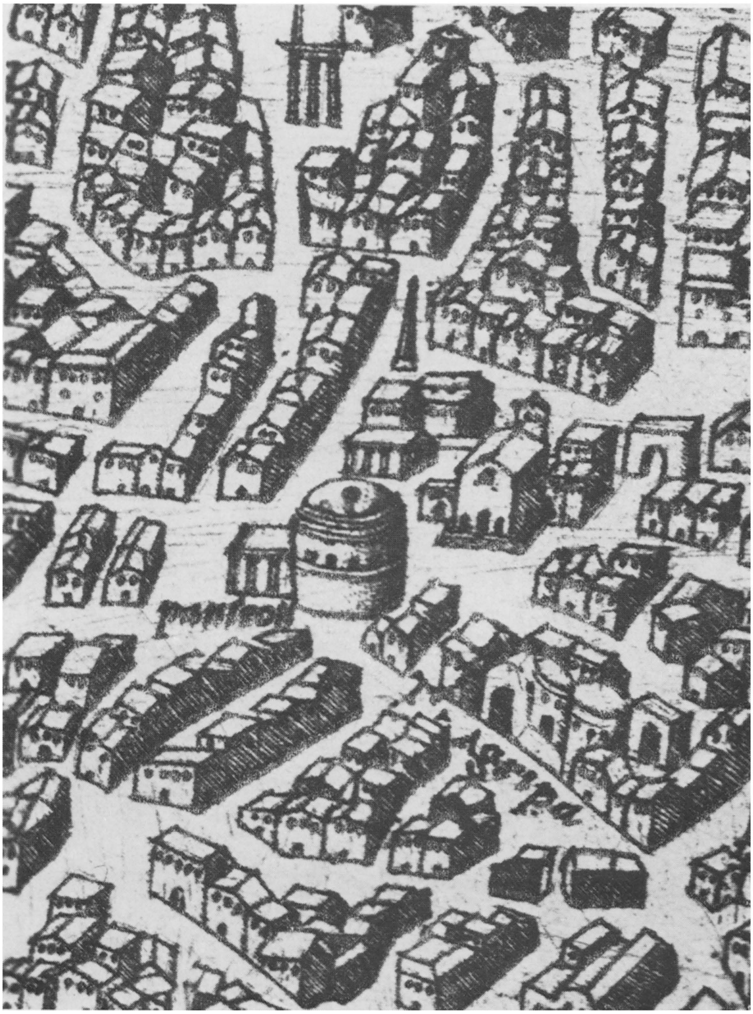
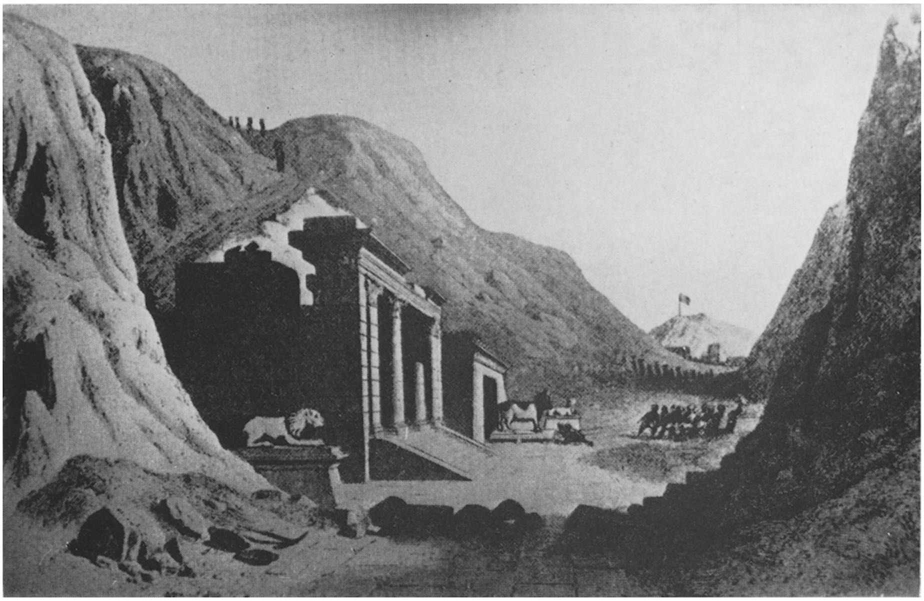

panteon
agripa

Plate XII



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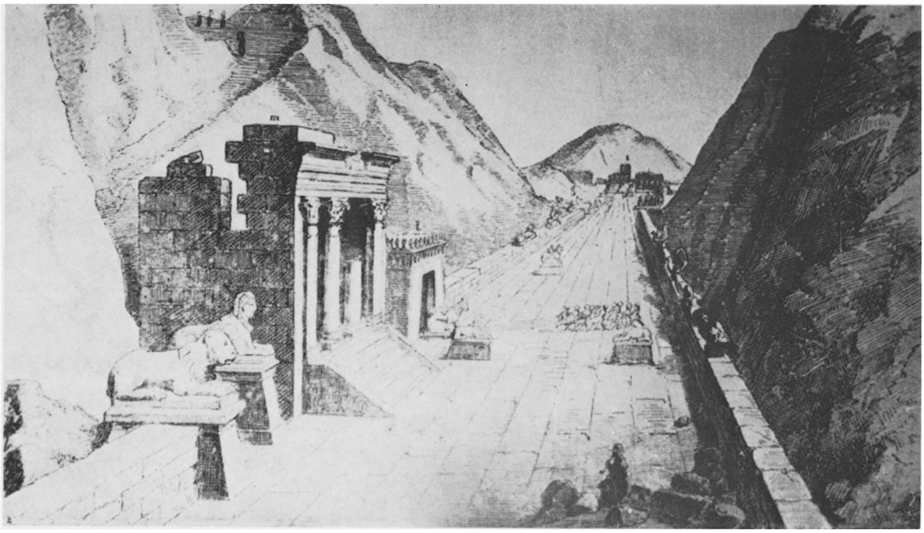

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PLATE XIII

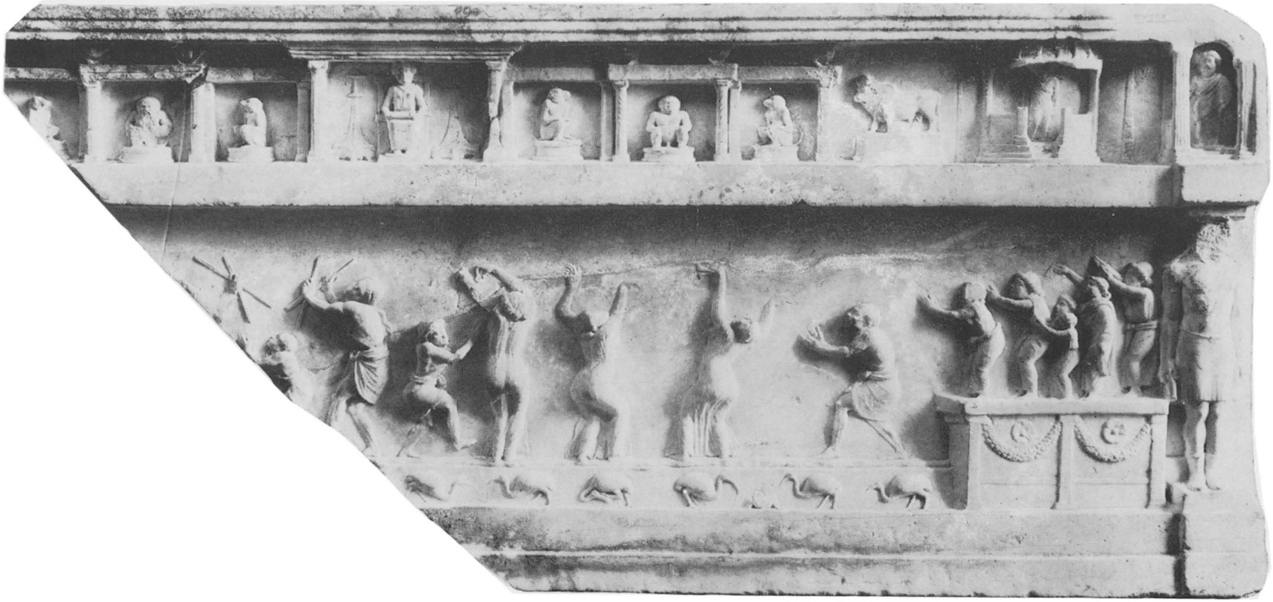

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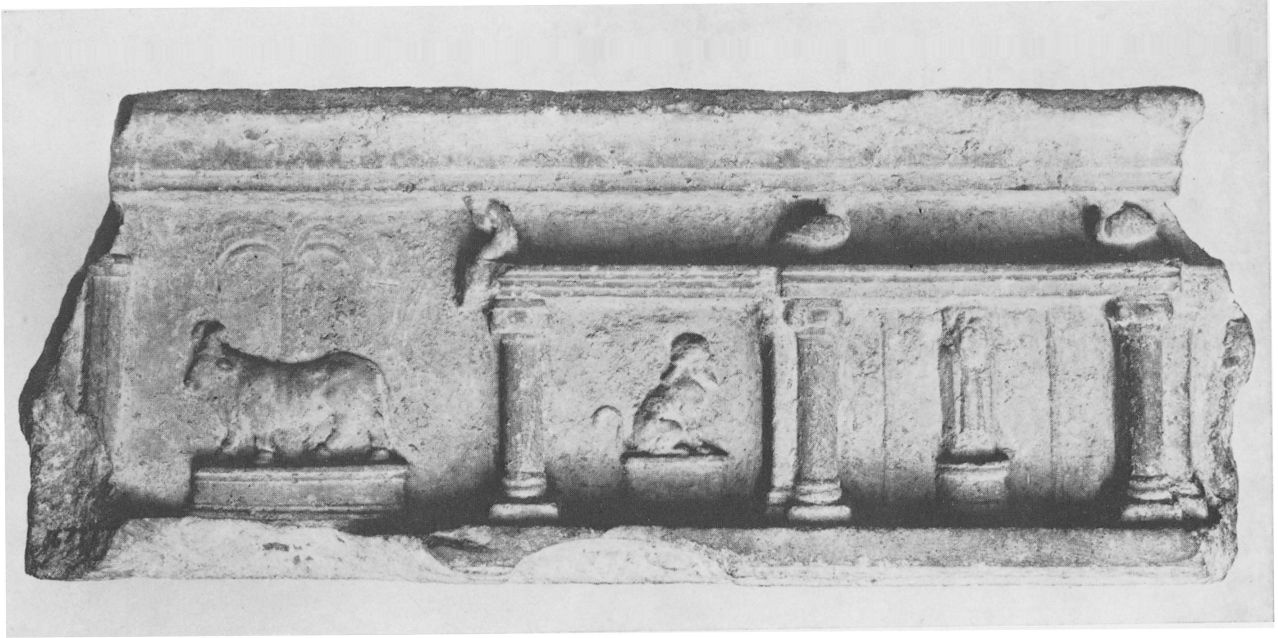
PLATE XIV



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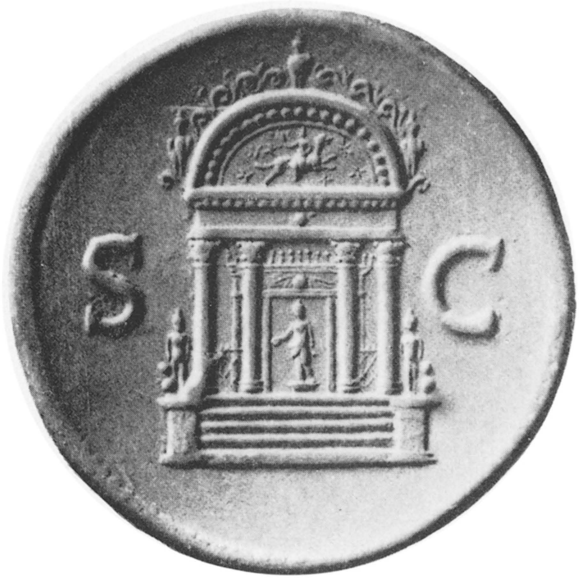

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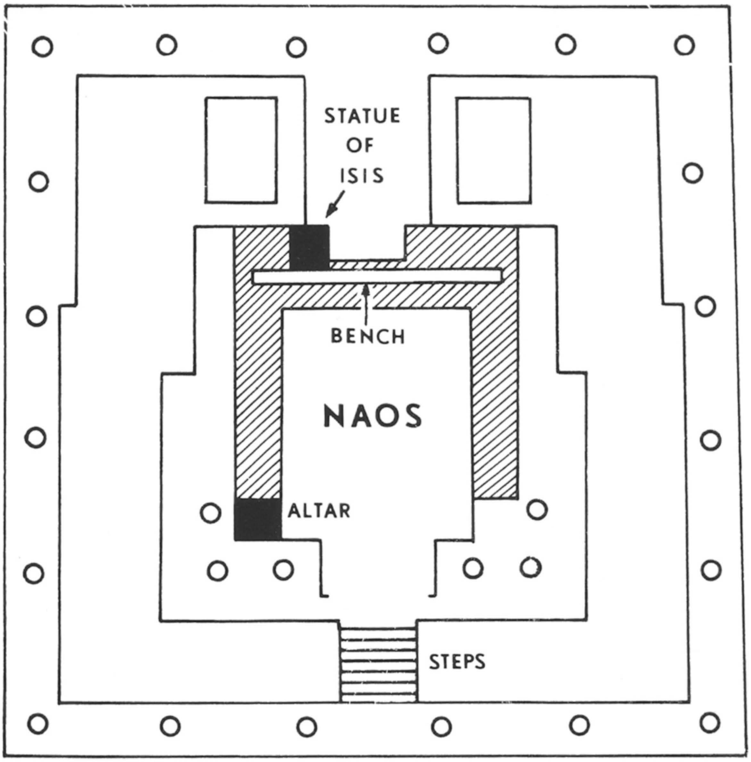
PLATE XVI


STATUE OF ISIS
BENCH
NAOS
ALTAR
STEPS

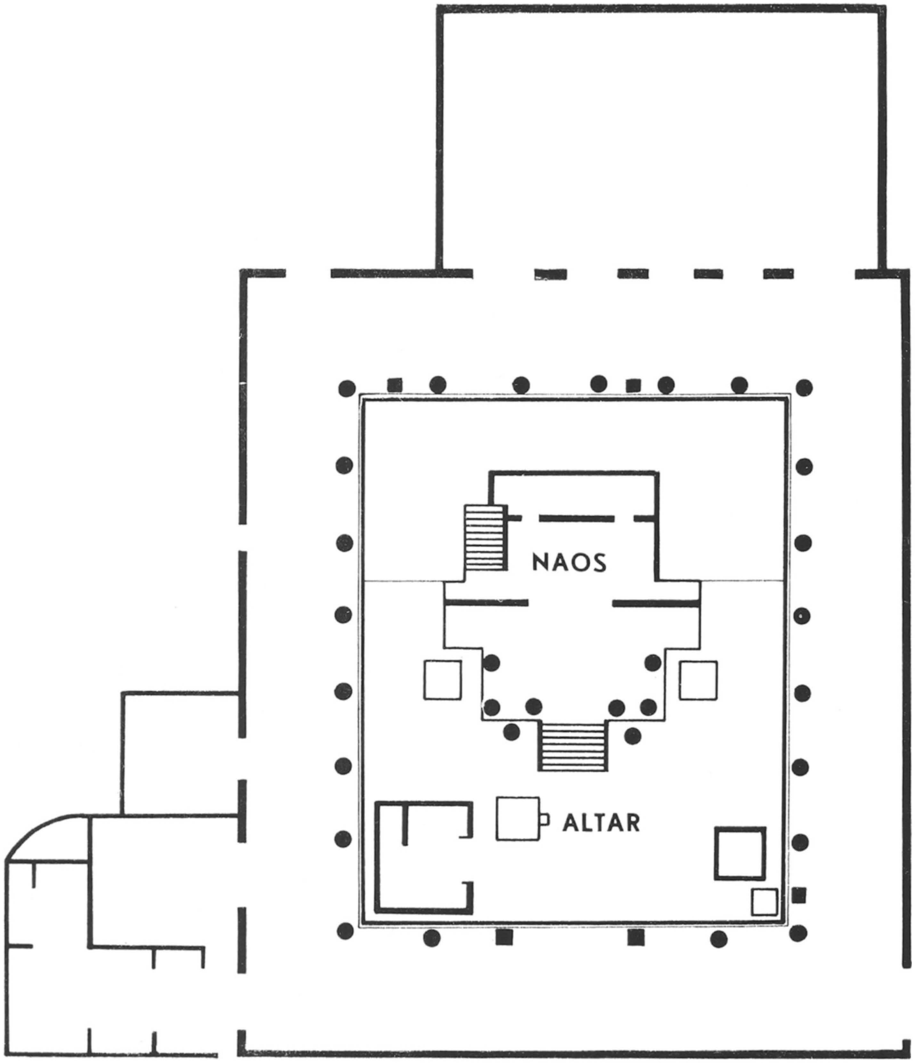
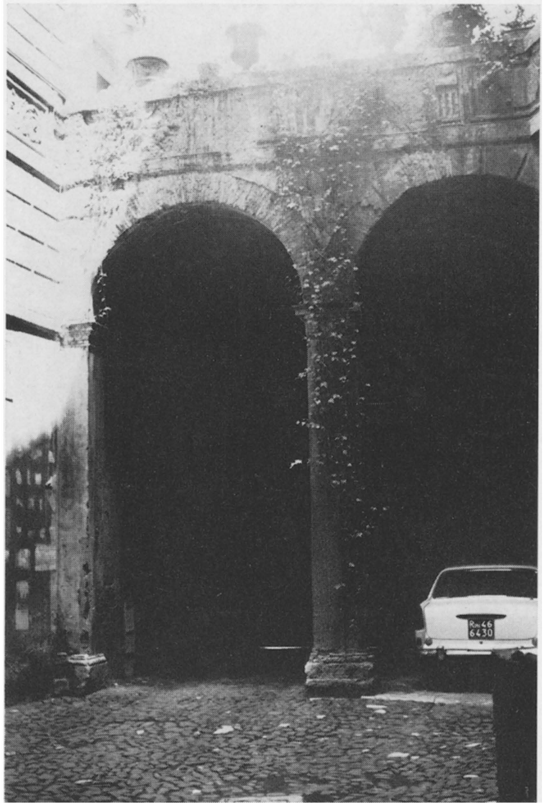

NAOS
ALTAR

PLATE XVIII



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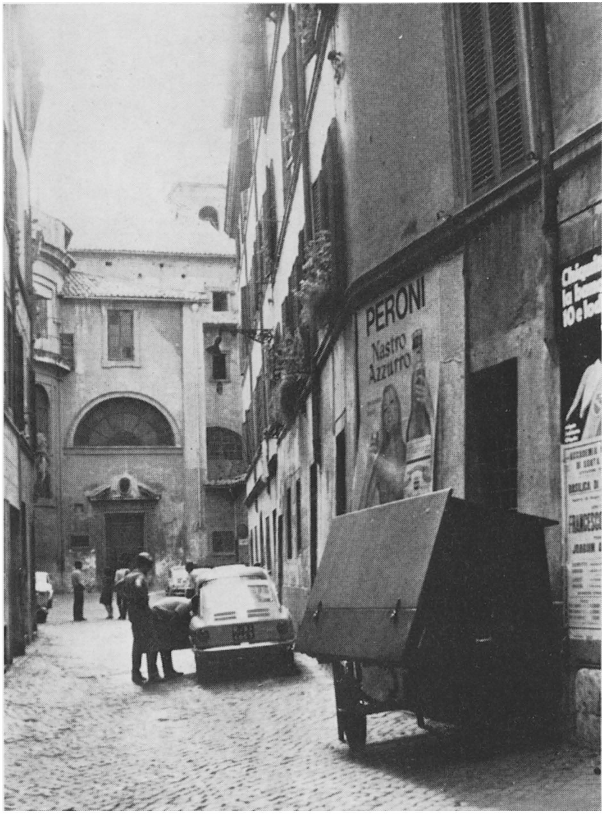
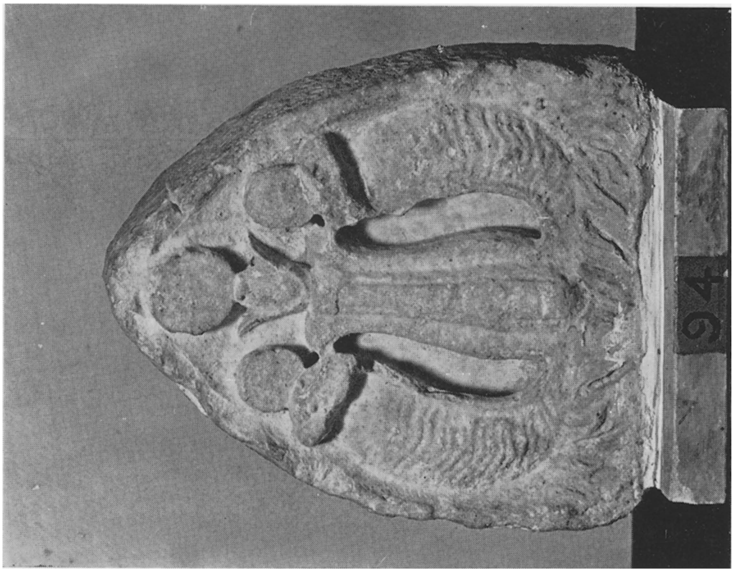

PERONI
Nastro
Azzurro

26

PLATE XIX



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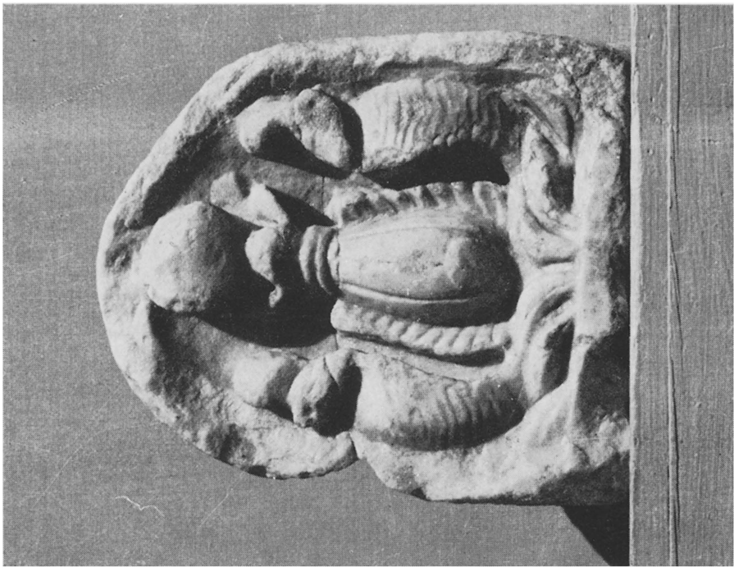

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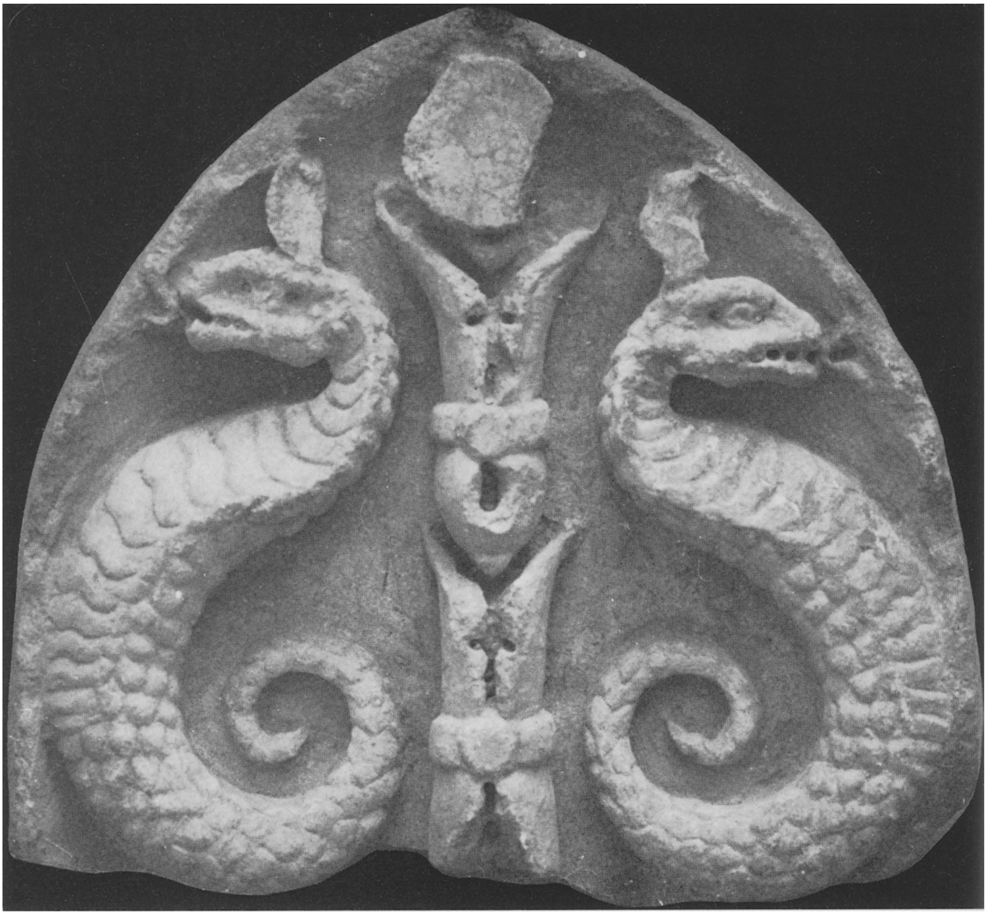
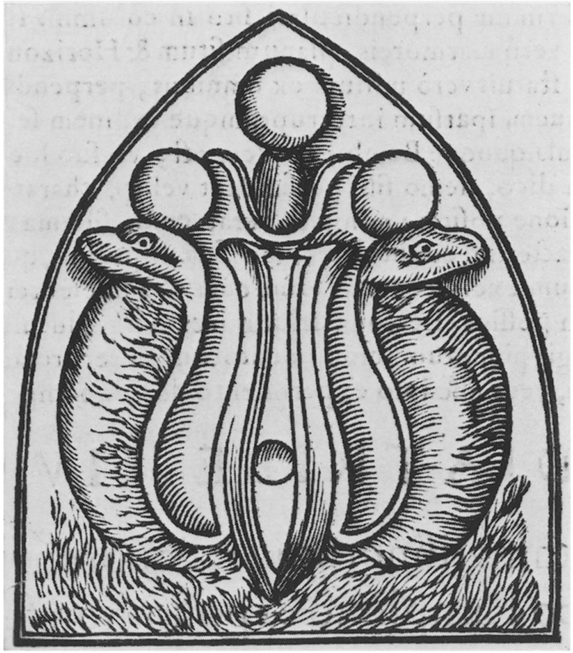
PLATE XX





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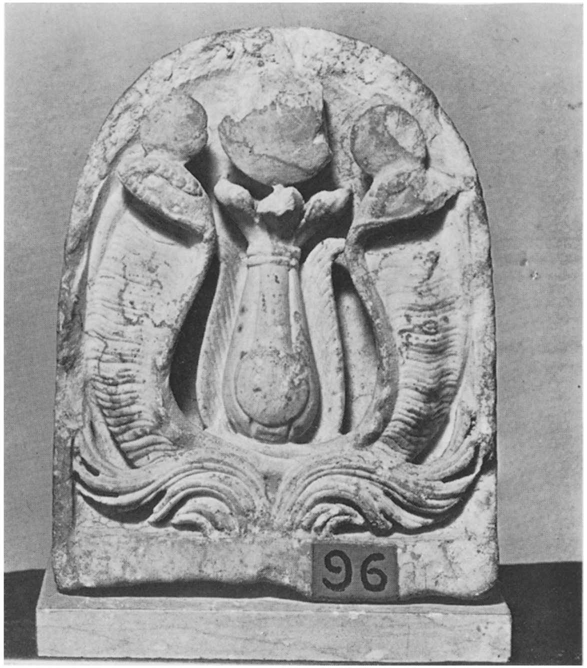

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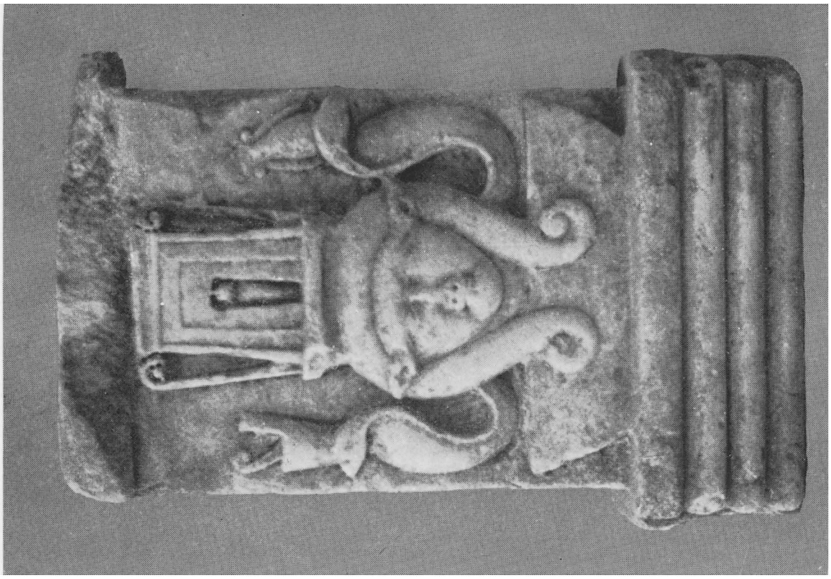
PLATE XXII



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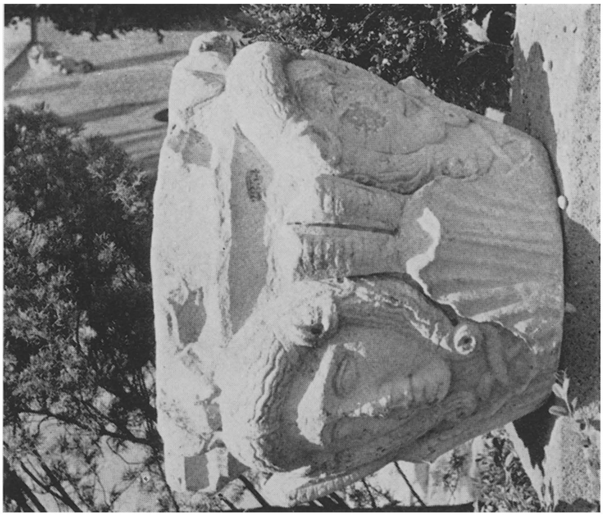

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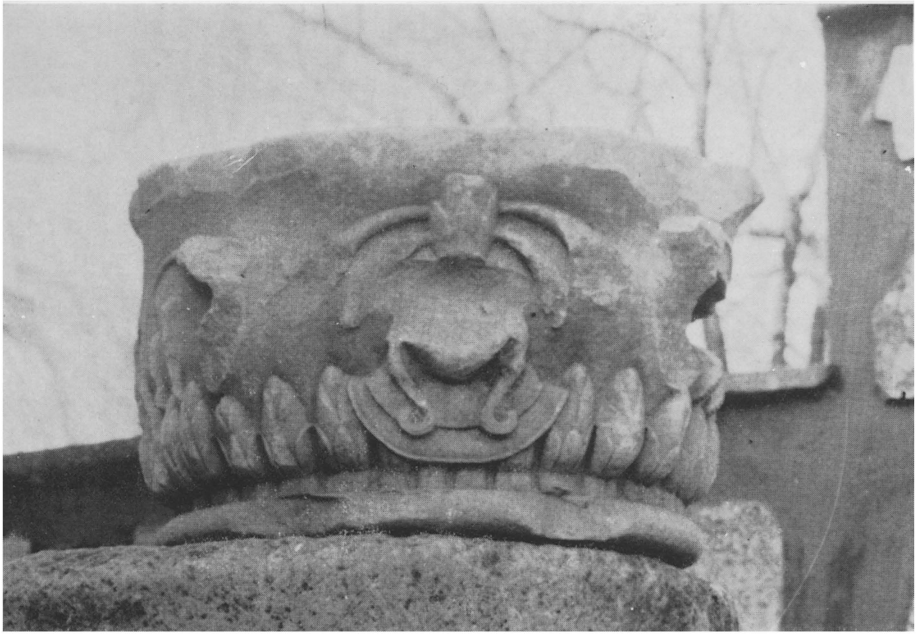

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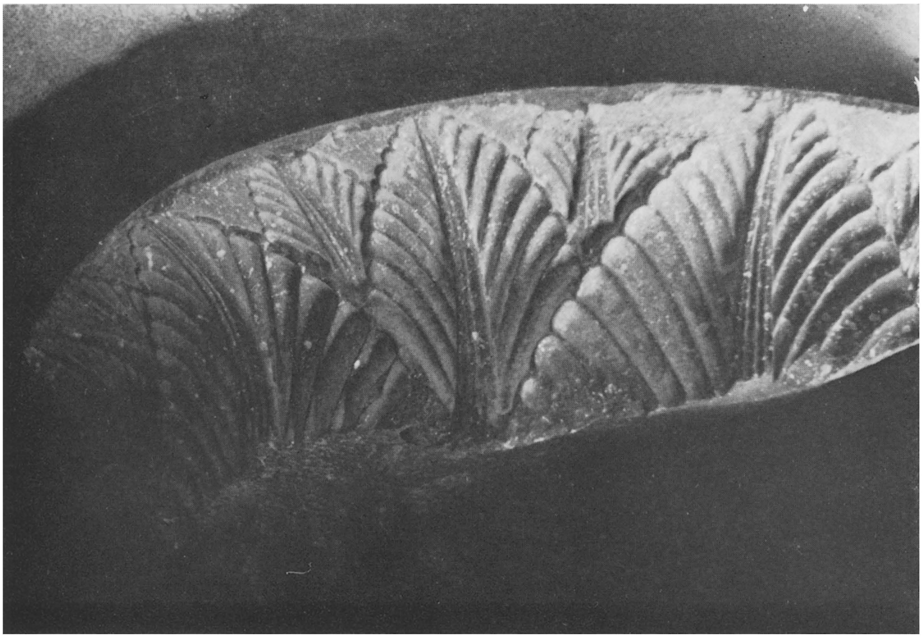

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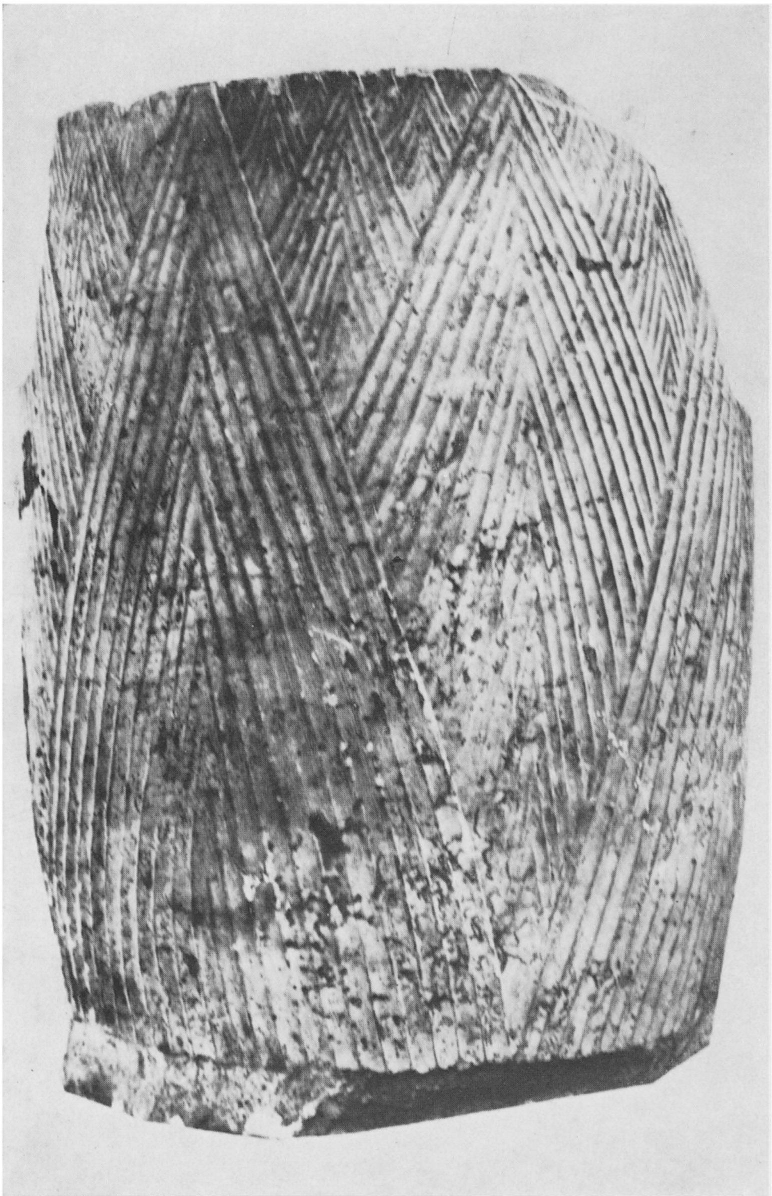
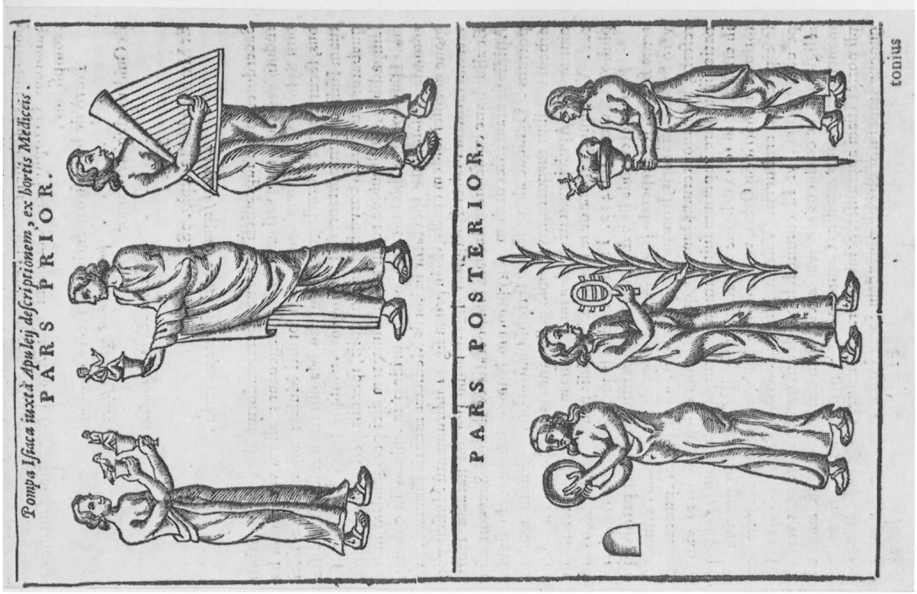
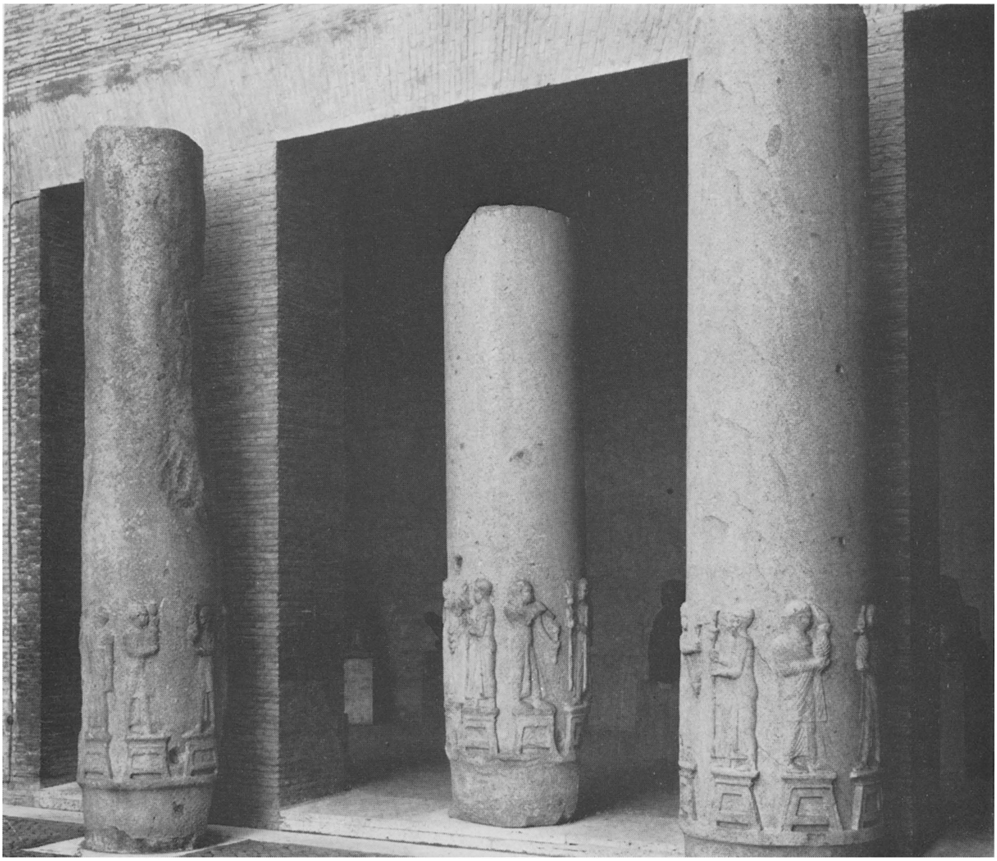



Pompa Iſiaca iuxtà Apuleij deſcriptionem, ex hortis Mediceis.
PARS PRIOR.
PARS POSTERIOR.
tonius

38

37

PLATE XXVI



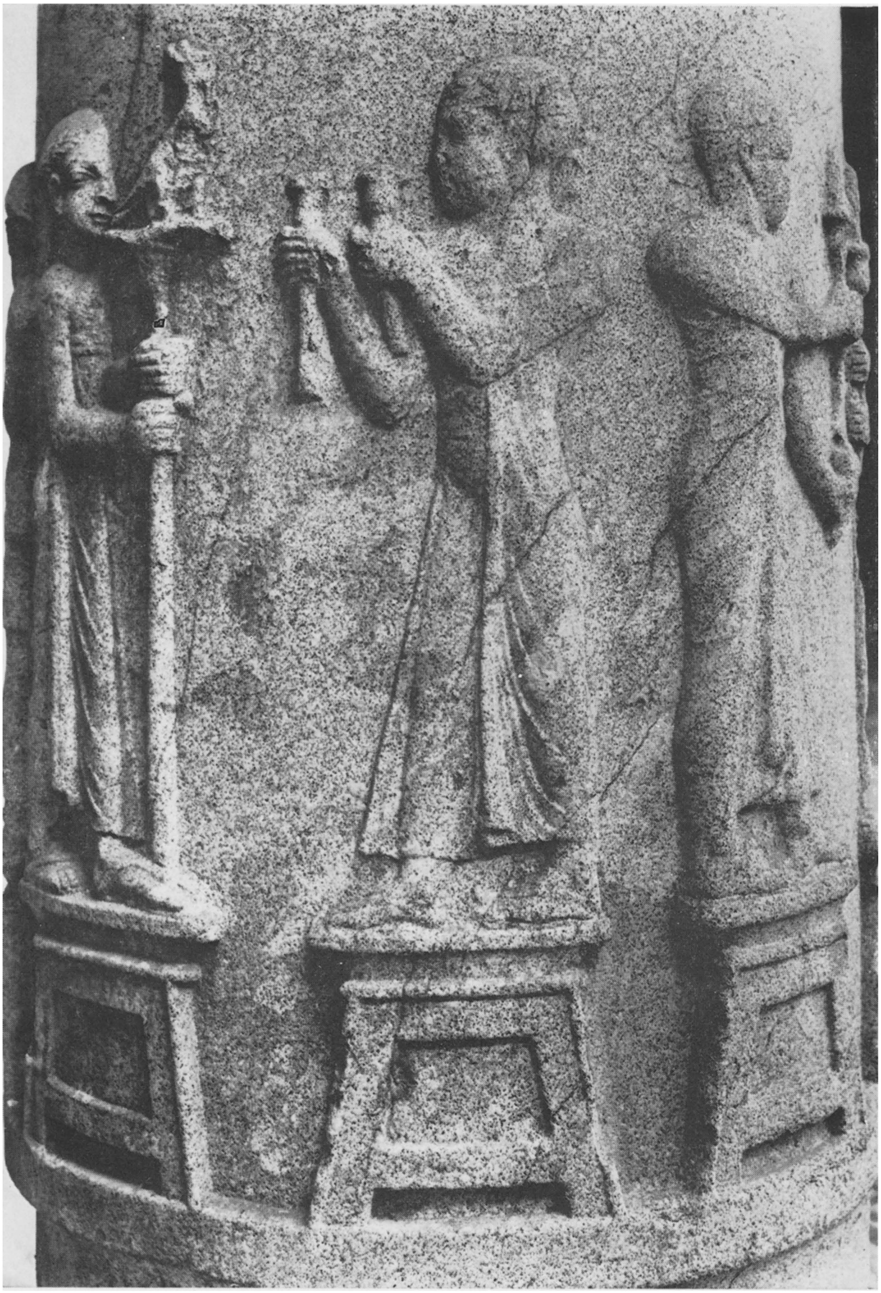
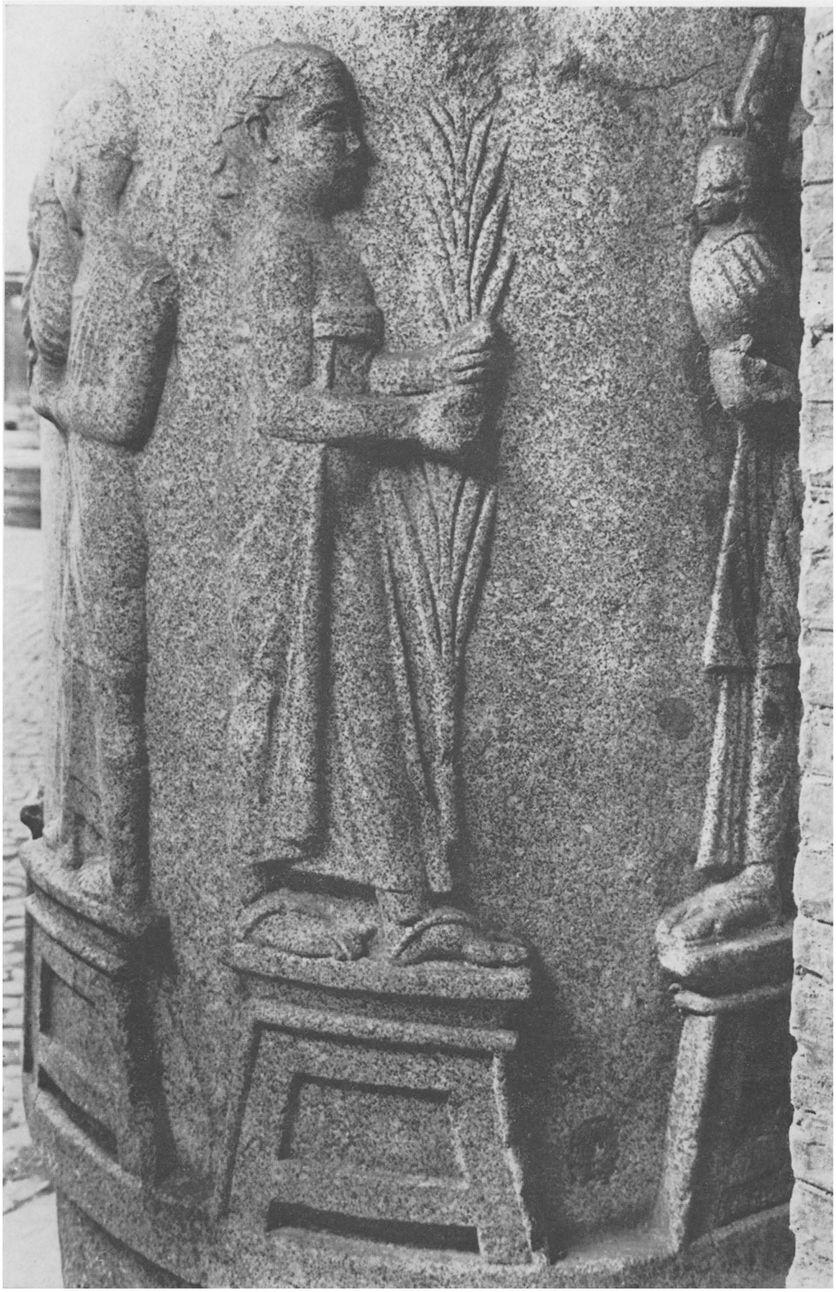


PLATE XXVIII



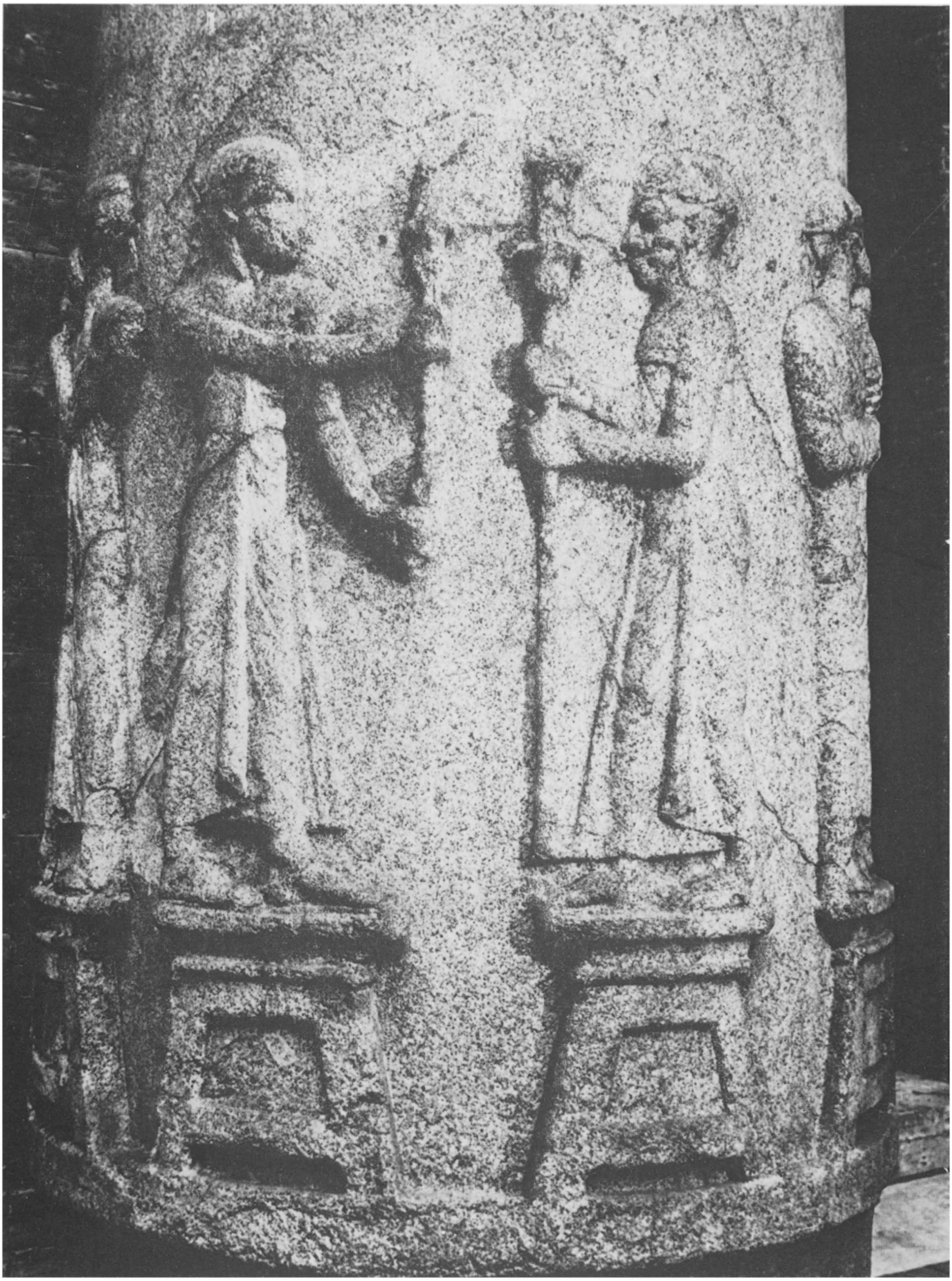
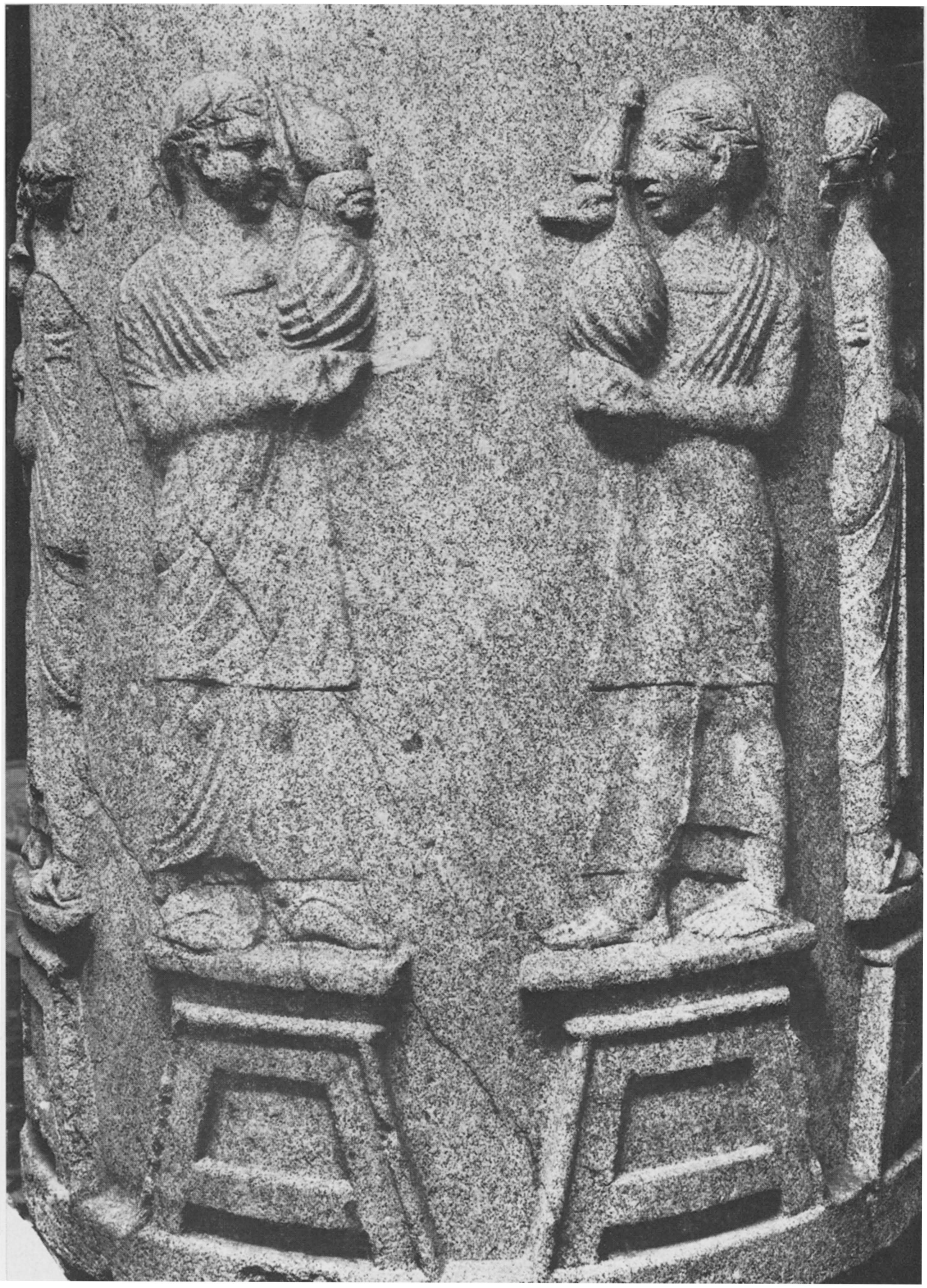


PLATE XXX



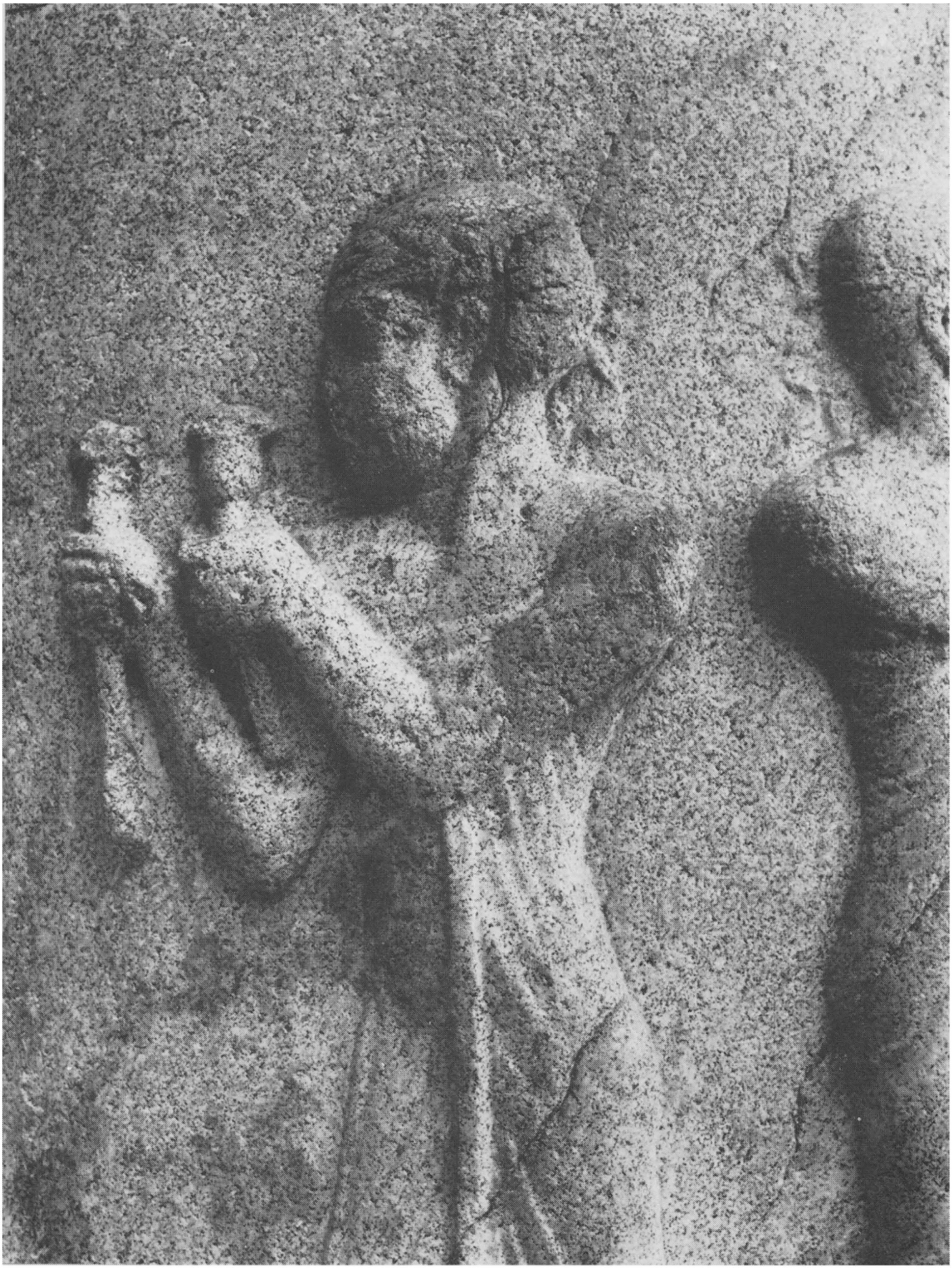
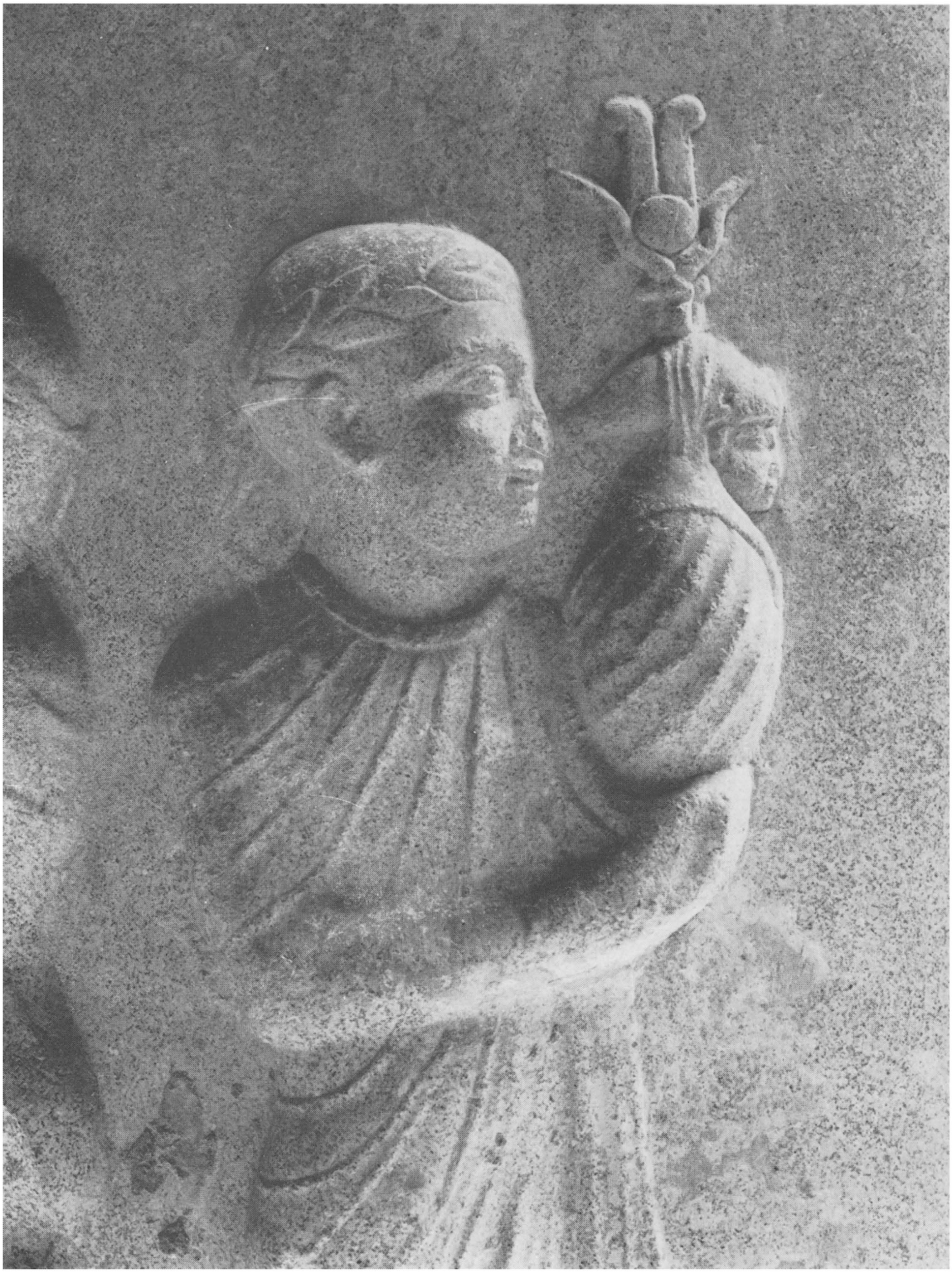
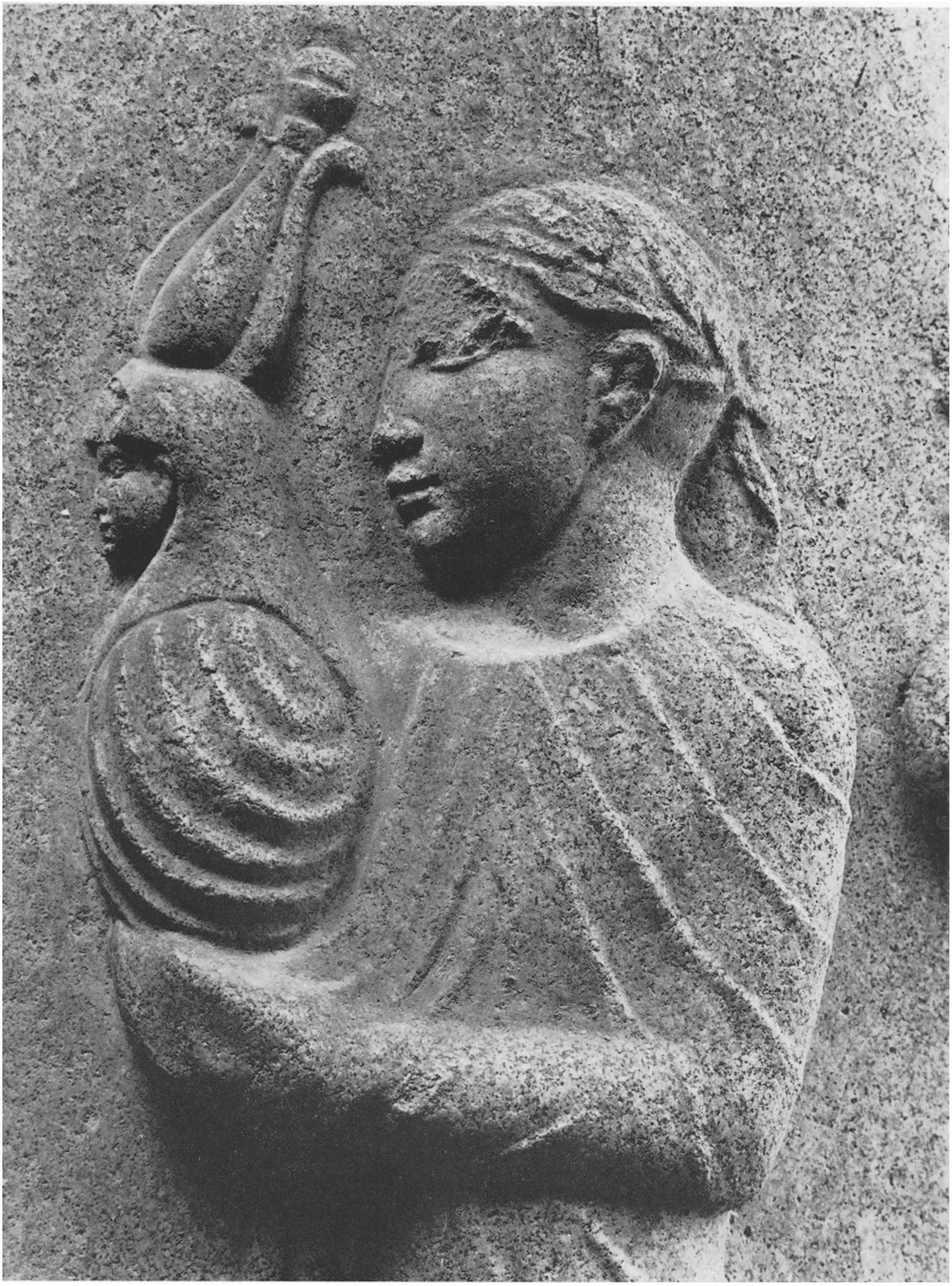


Plate XXXII





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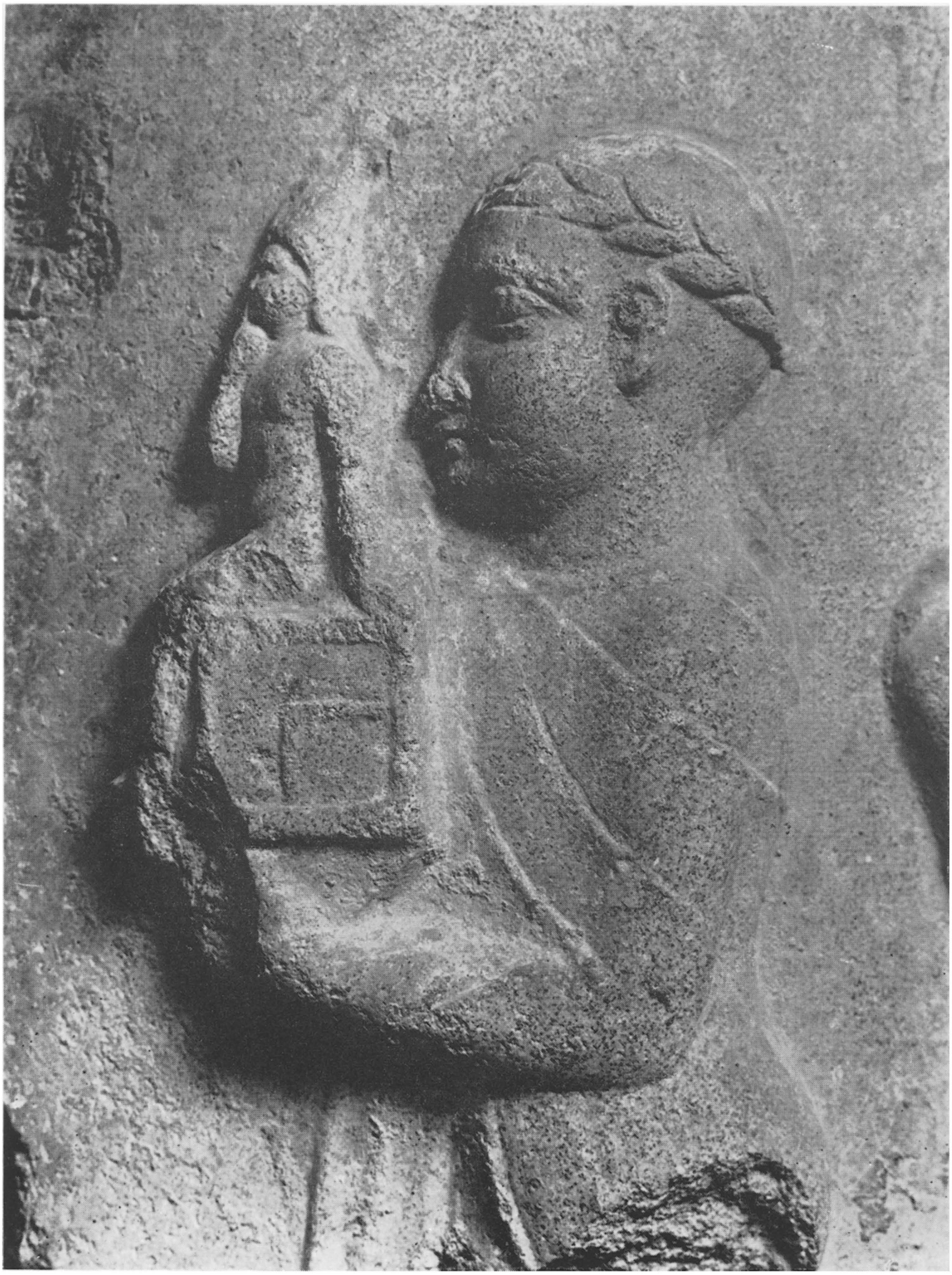

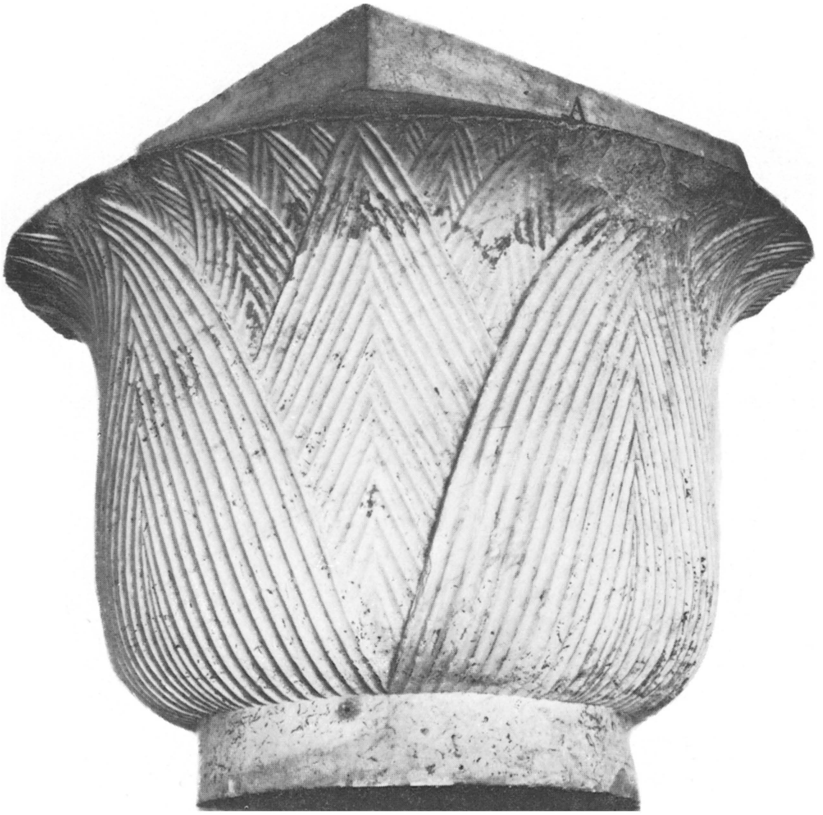

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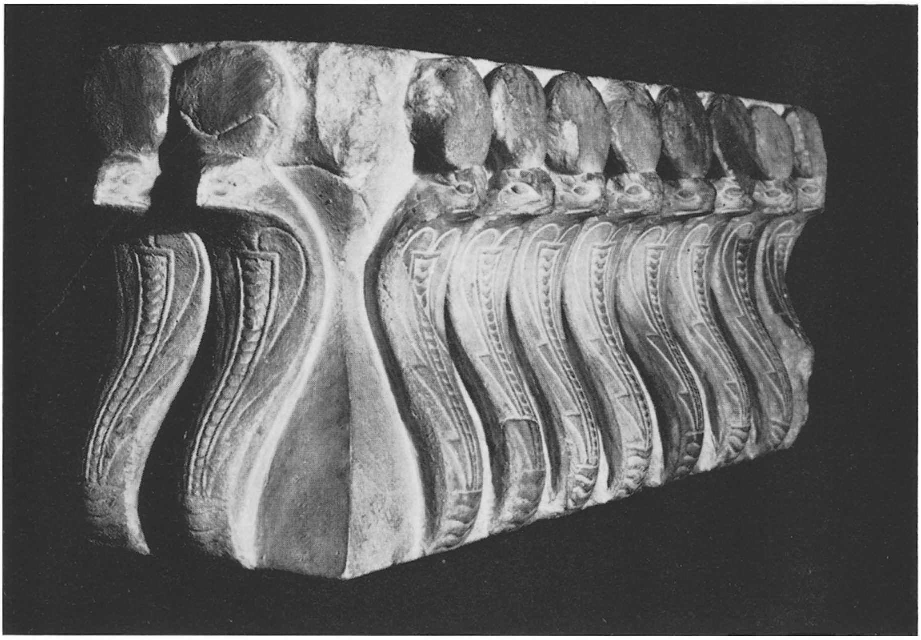
PLATE XXXVI



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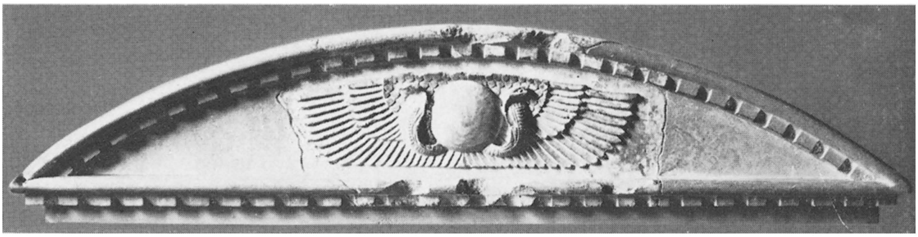

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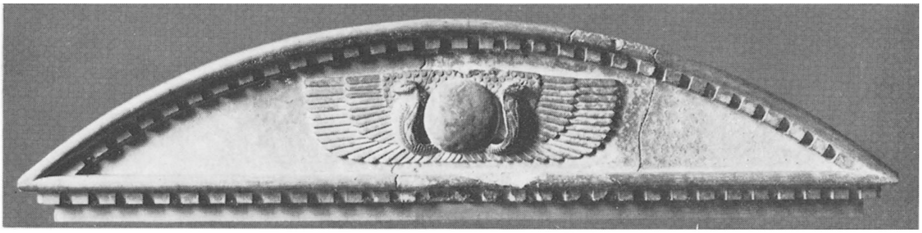

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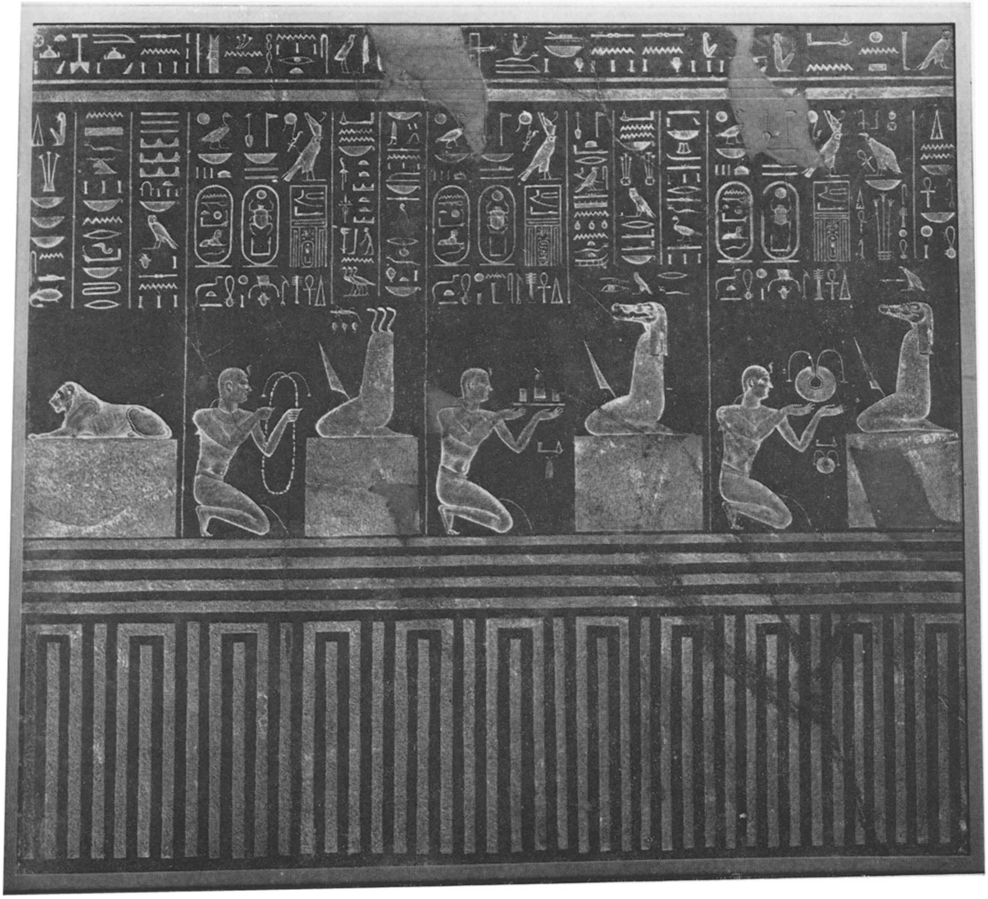


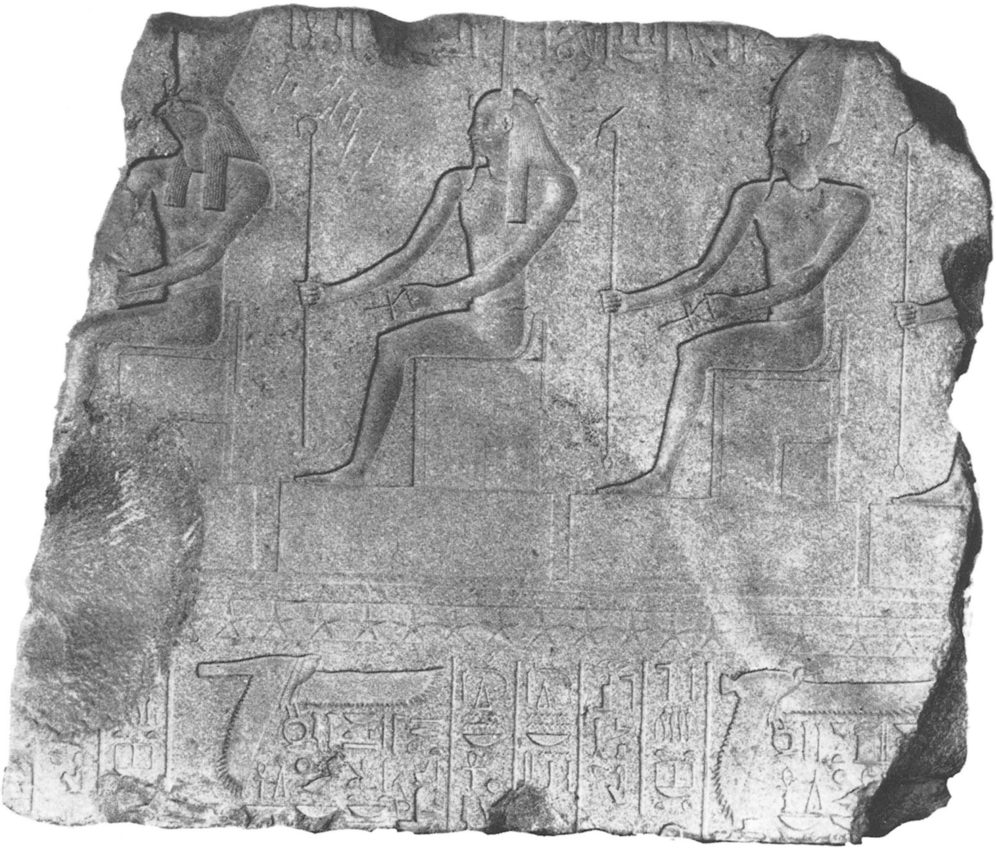
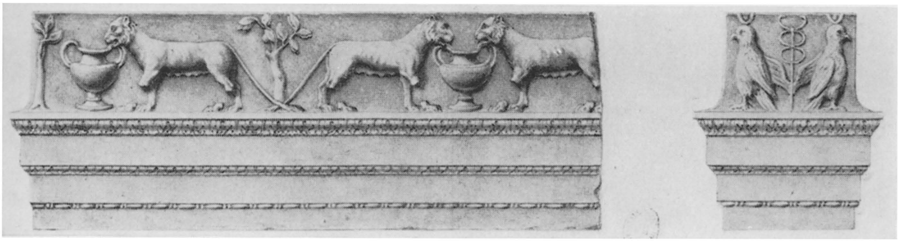


PLATE XXXIX



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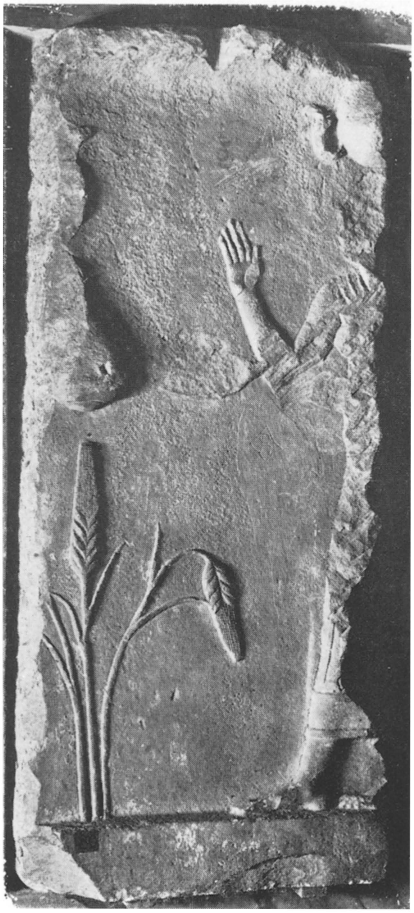

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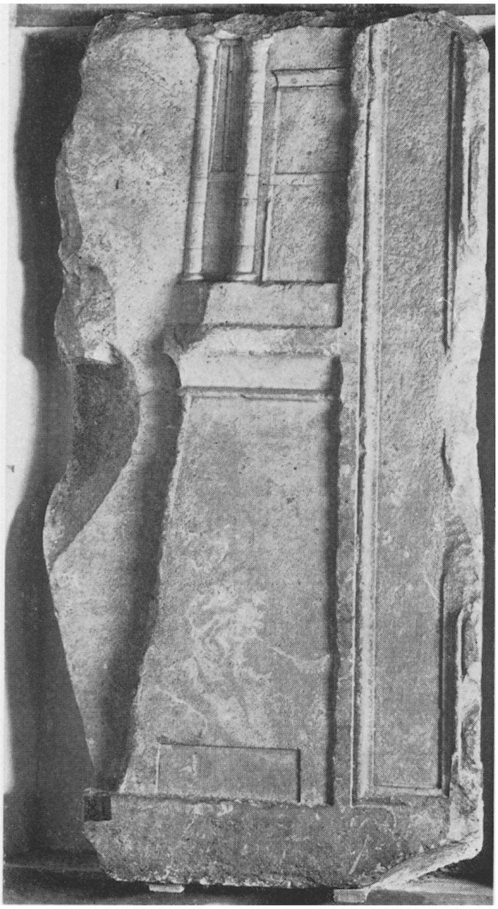
PLATE XL



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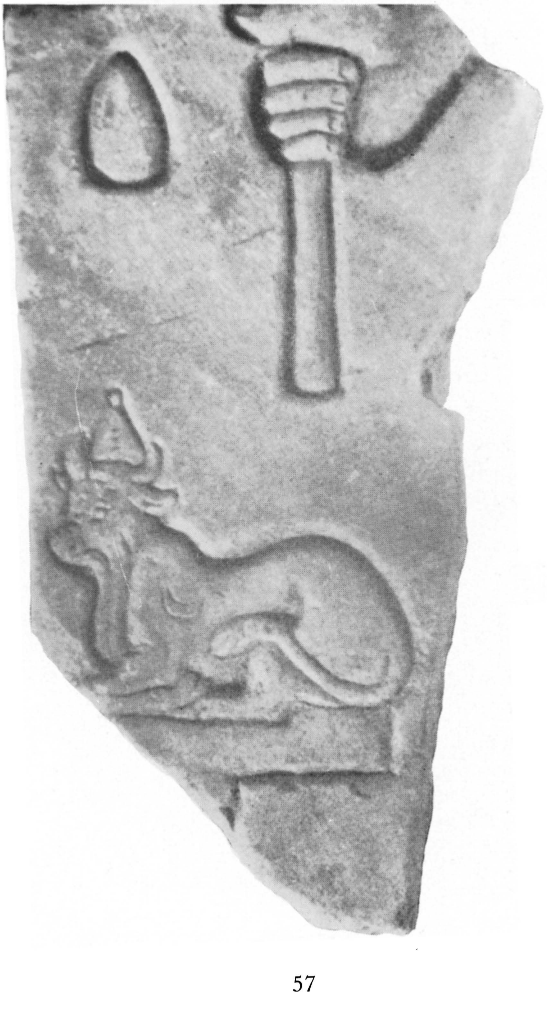

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PLATE XLII

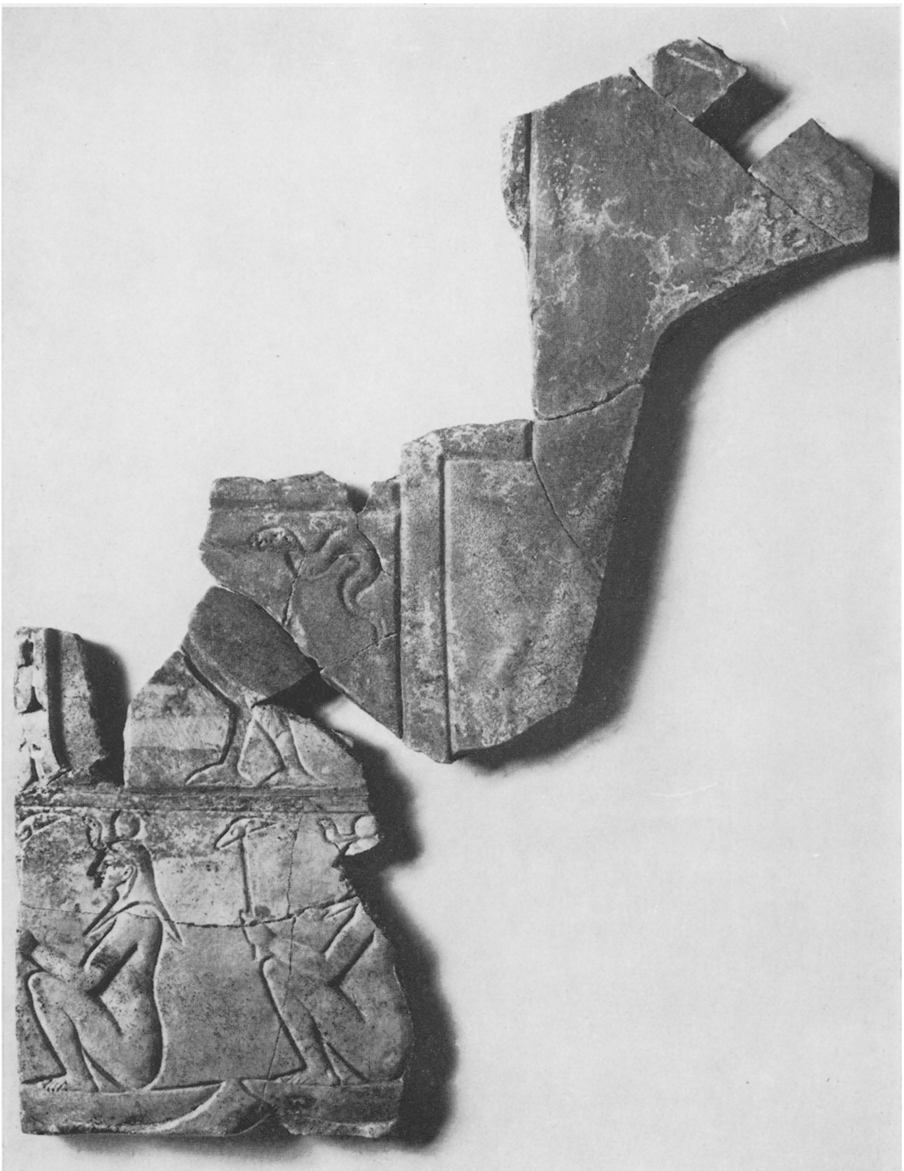
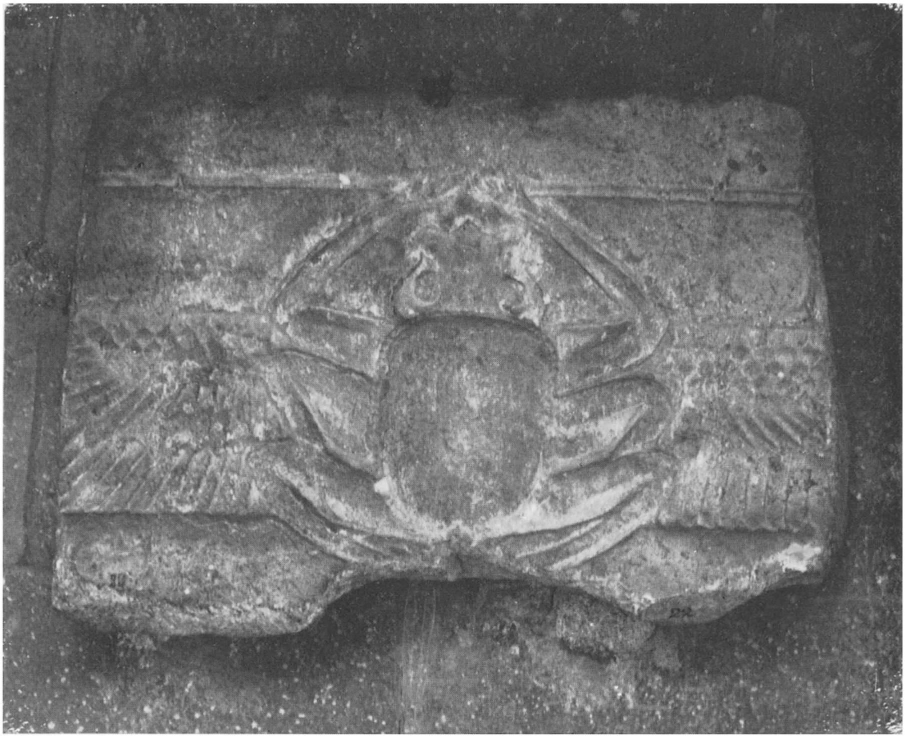


Plate XLIII



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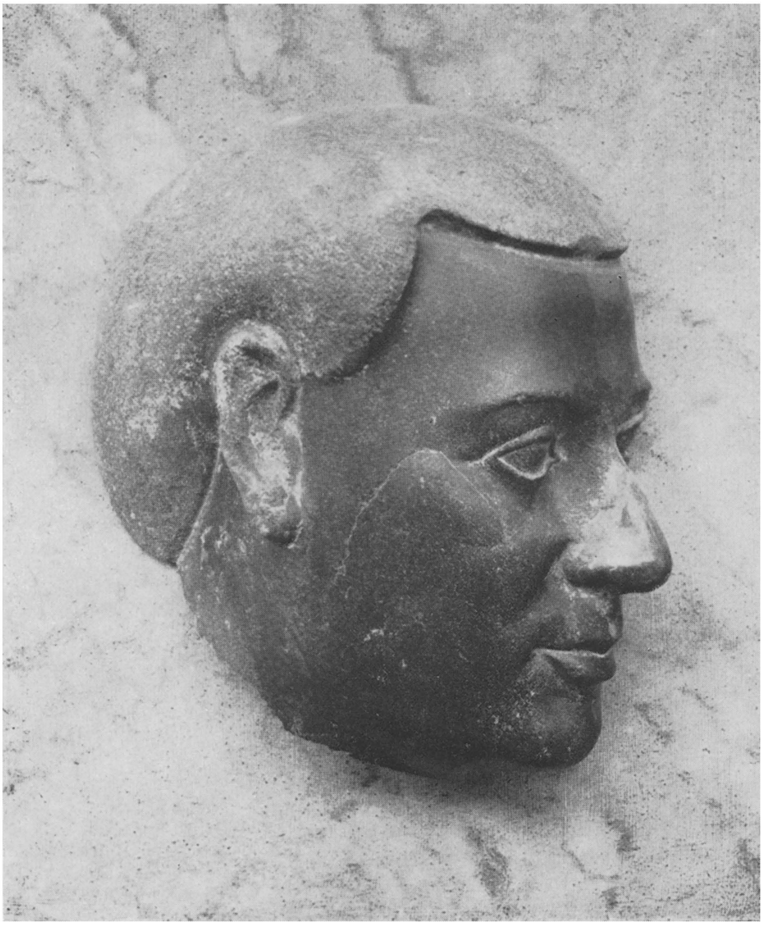


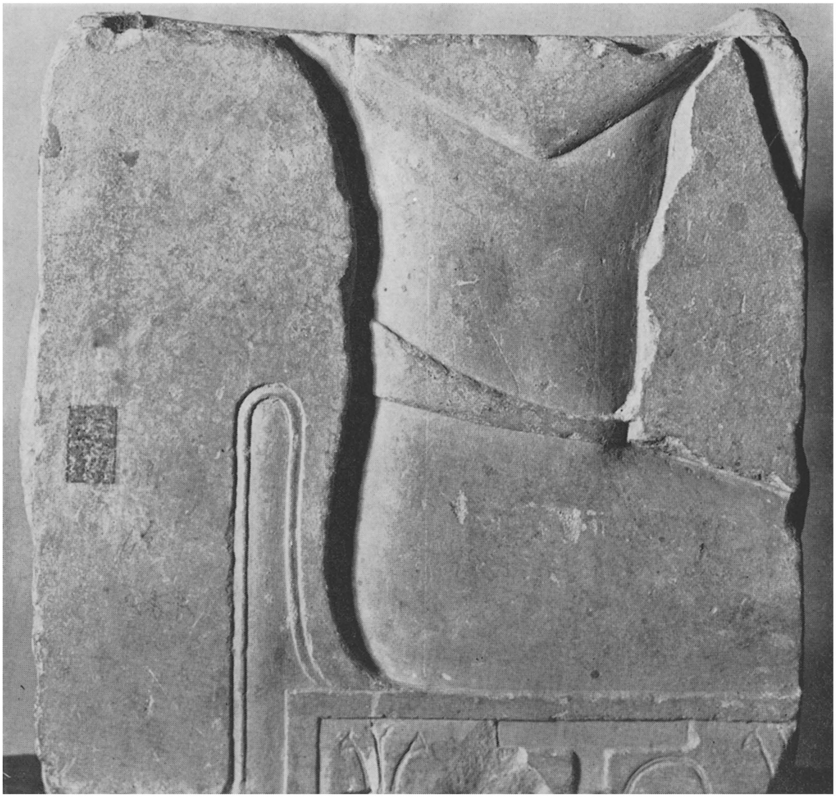
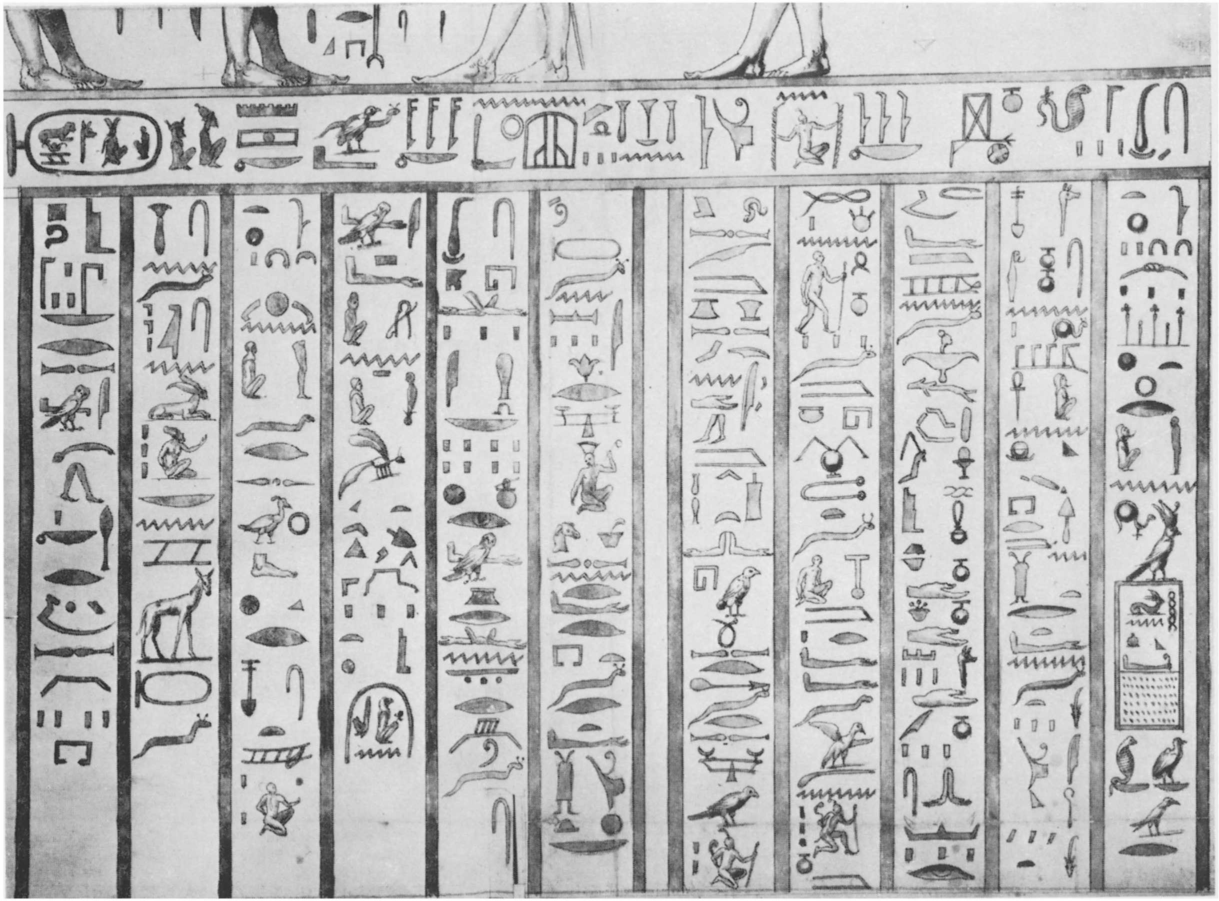


PLATE XLVI



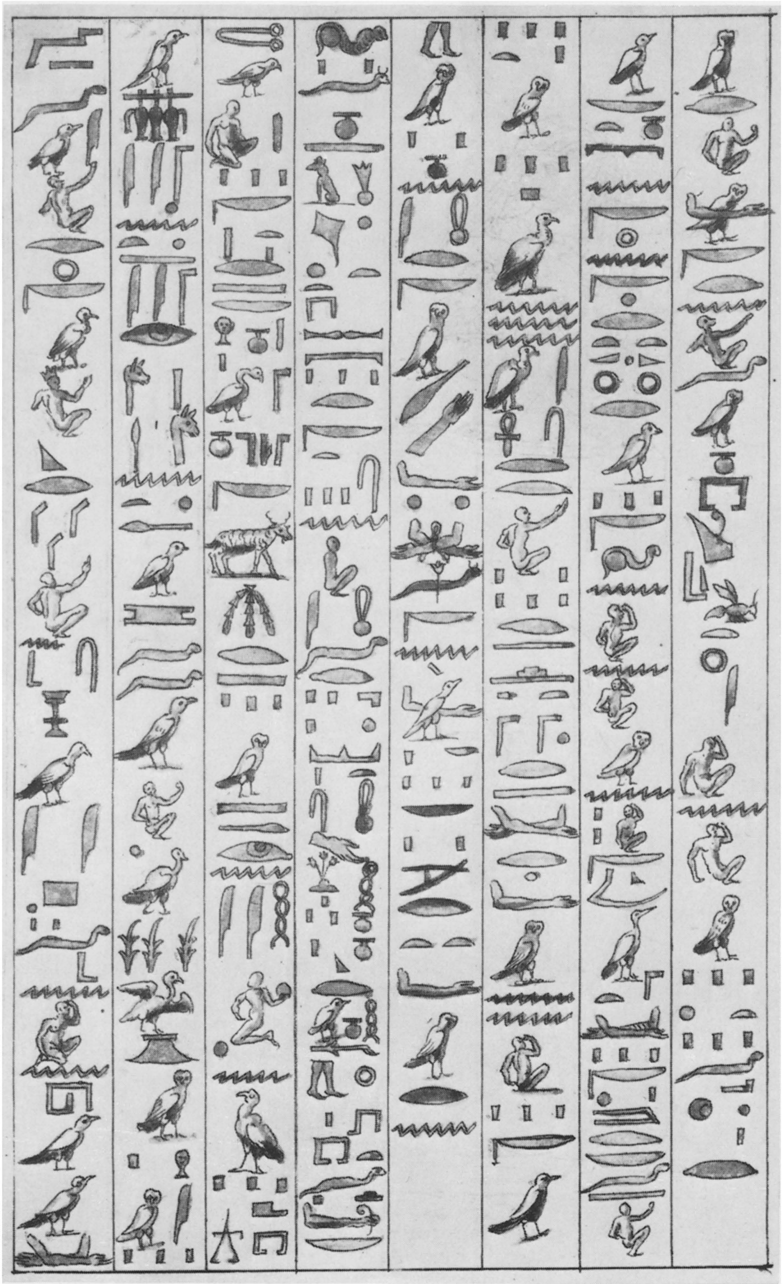
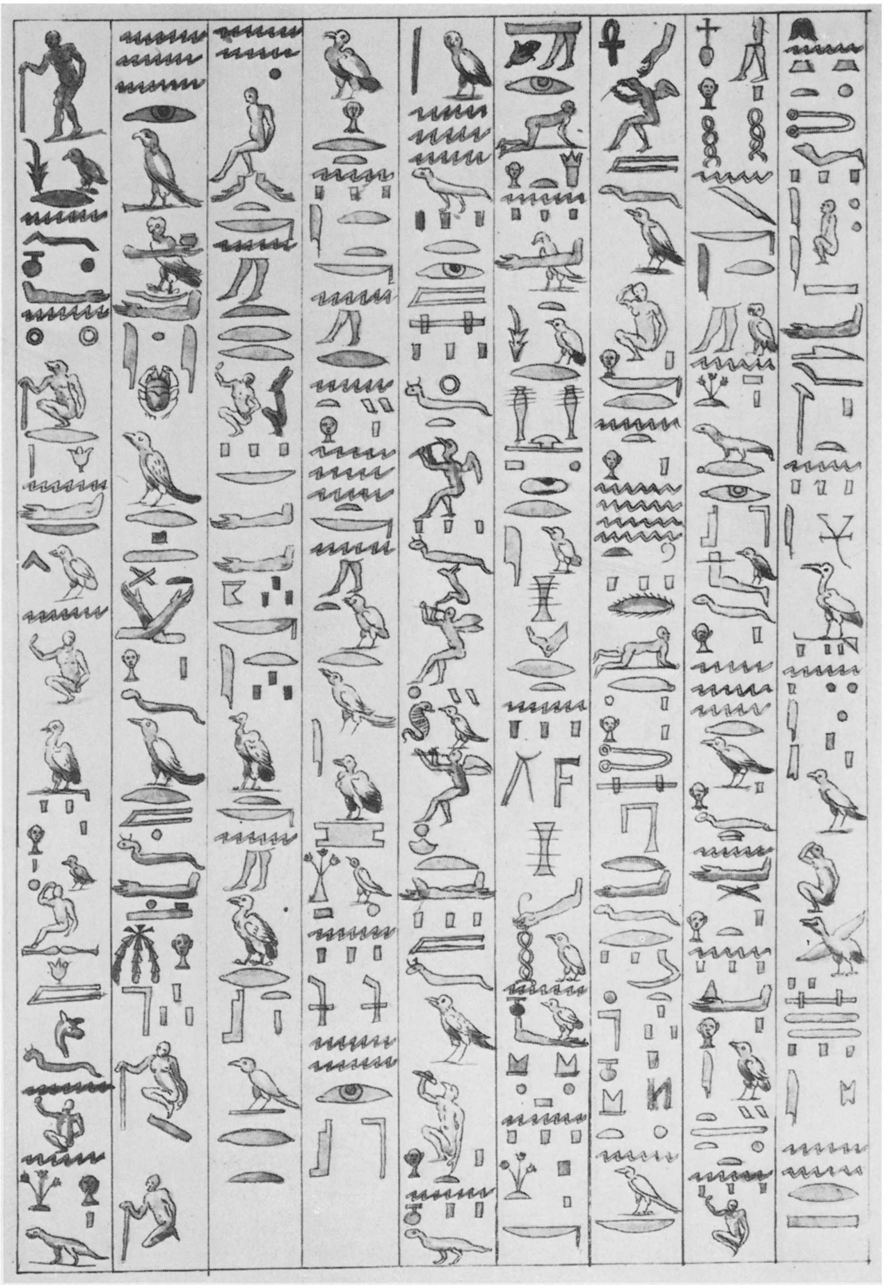


PLATE XLVIII



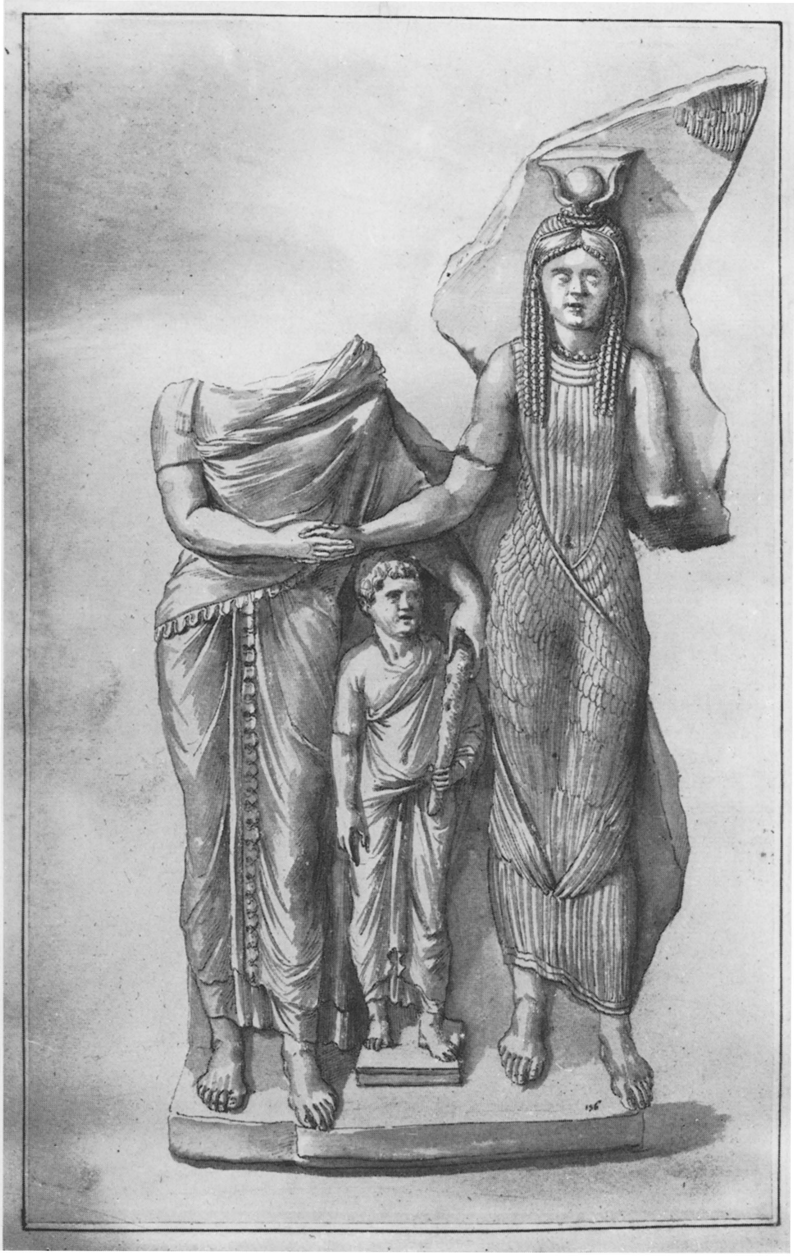

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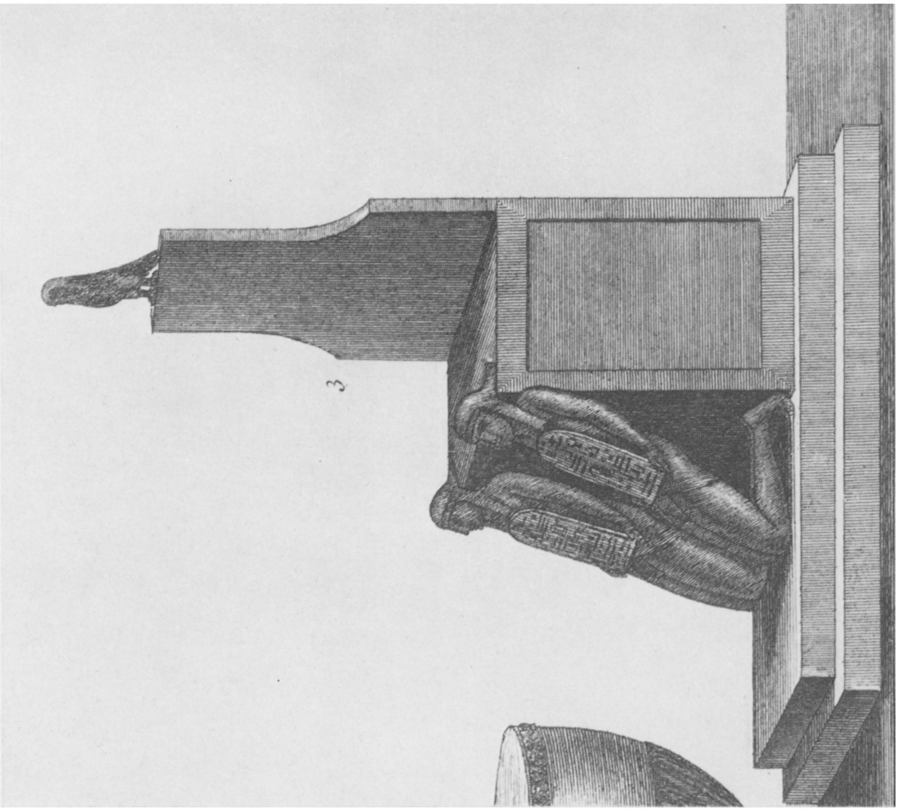
PLATE L



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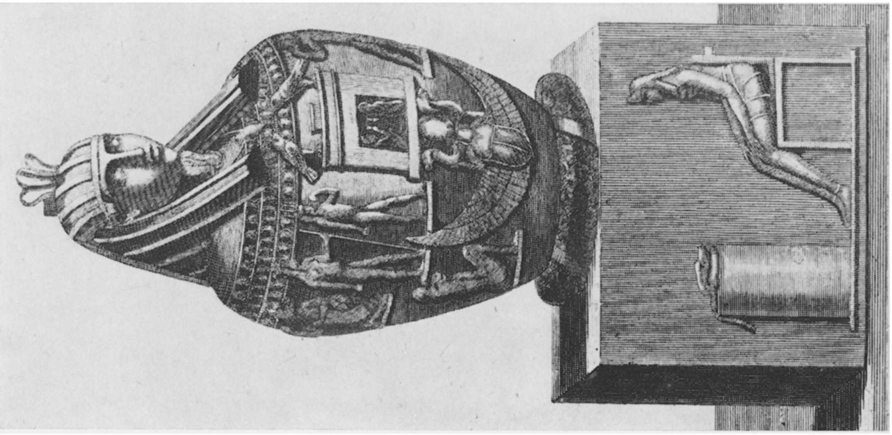

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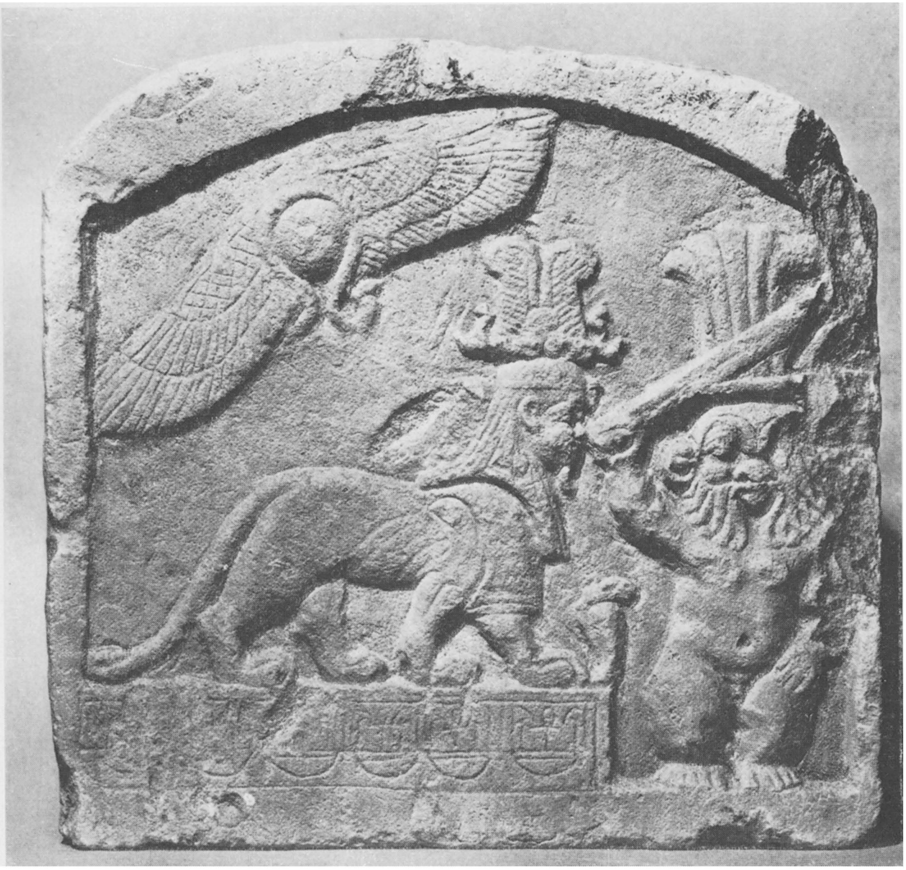

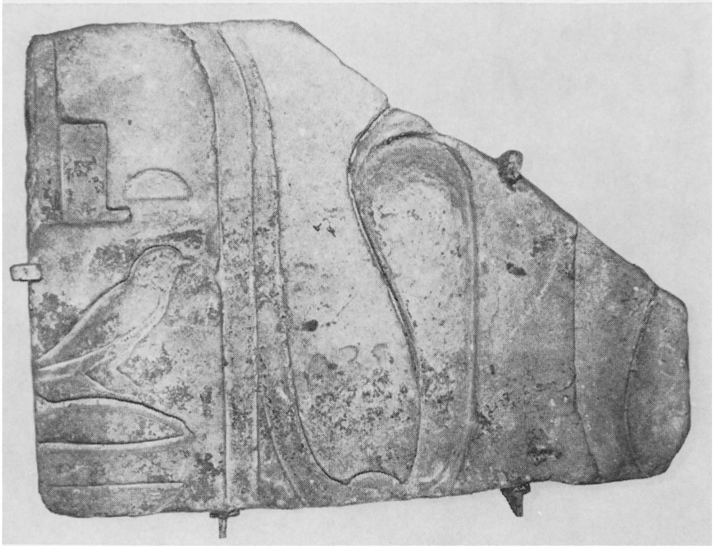

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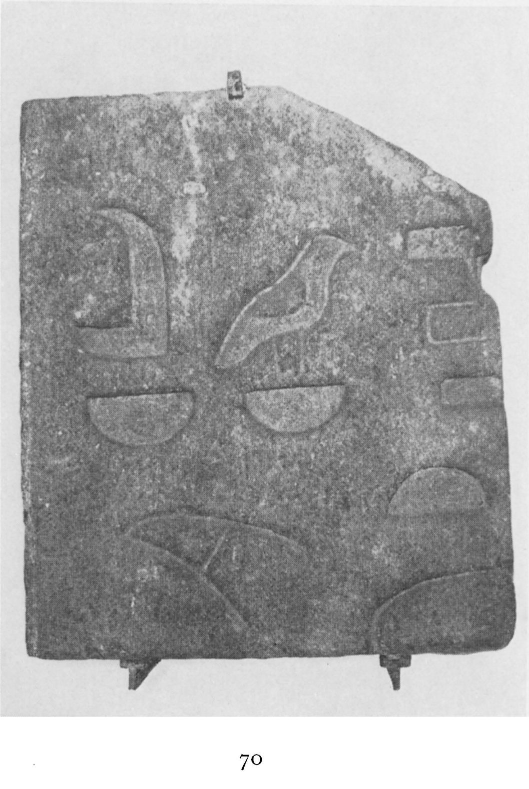

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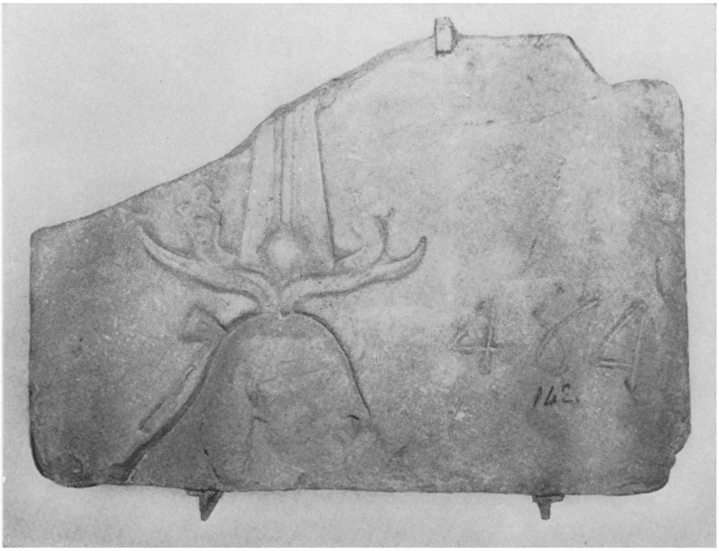
PLATE LIII



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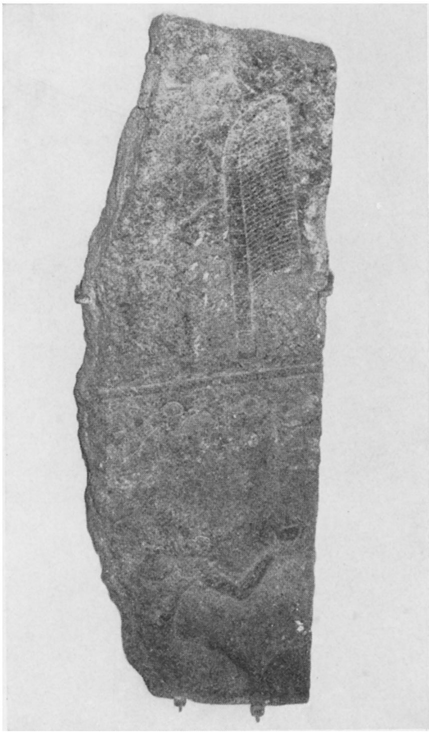

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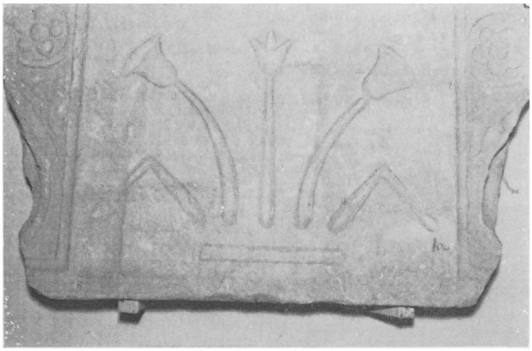

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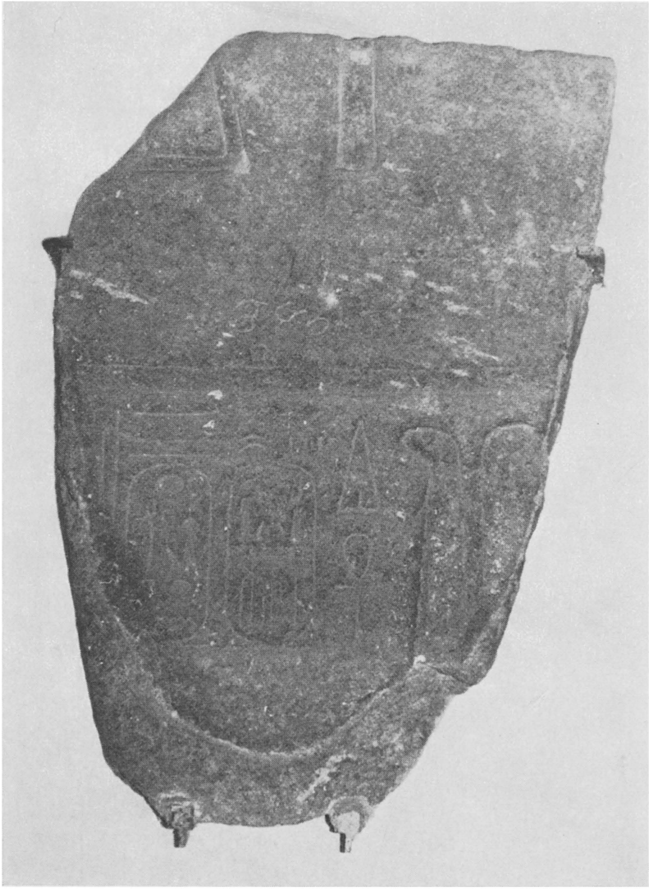
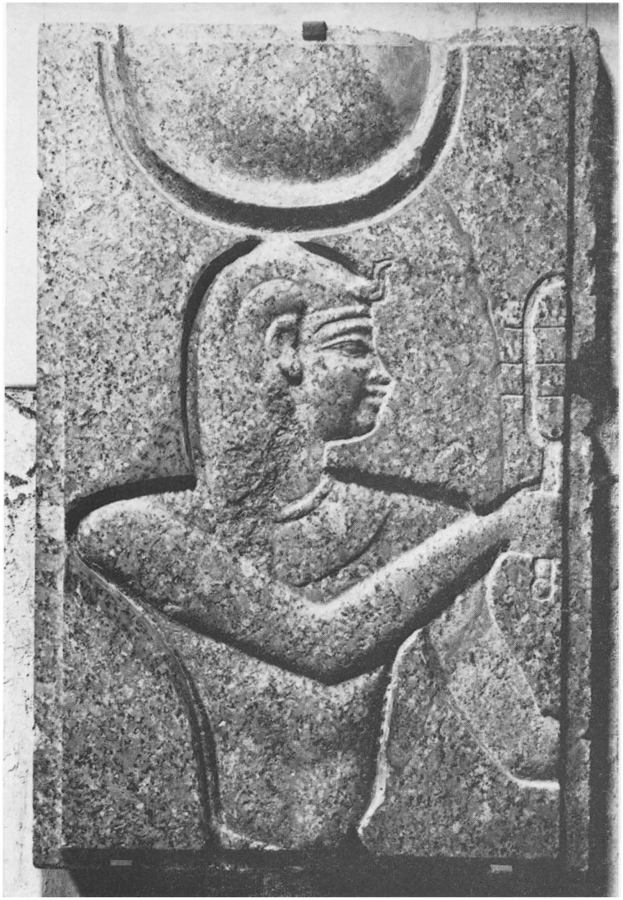
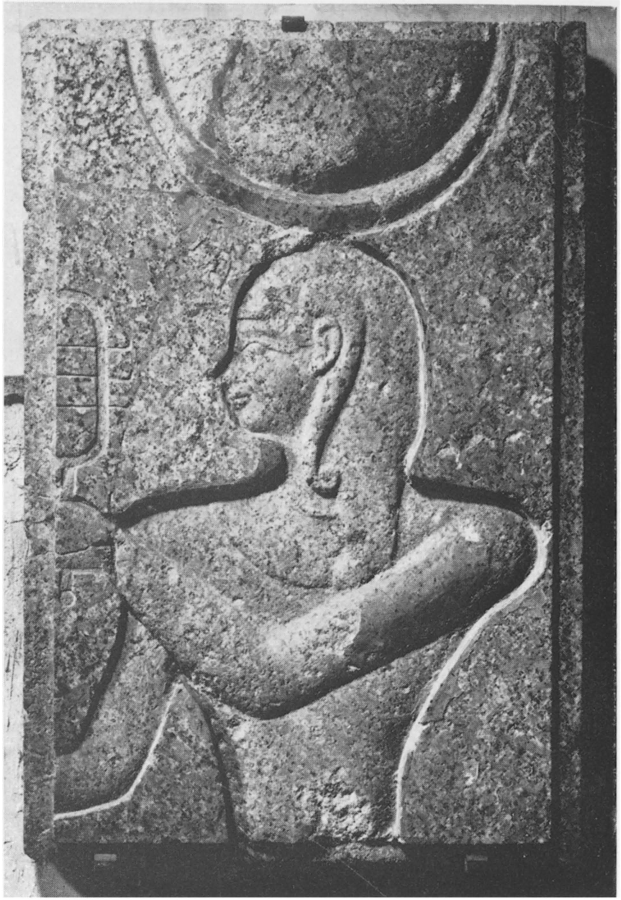


74

Plate LV

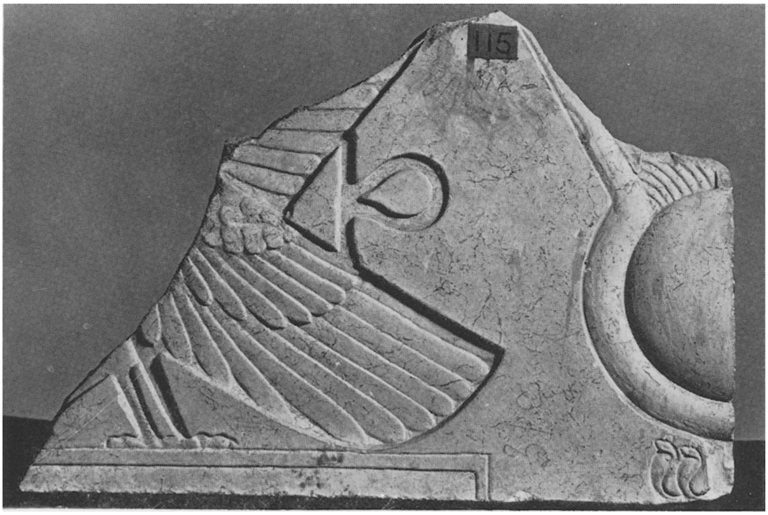


75

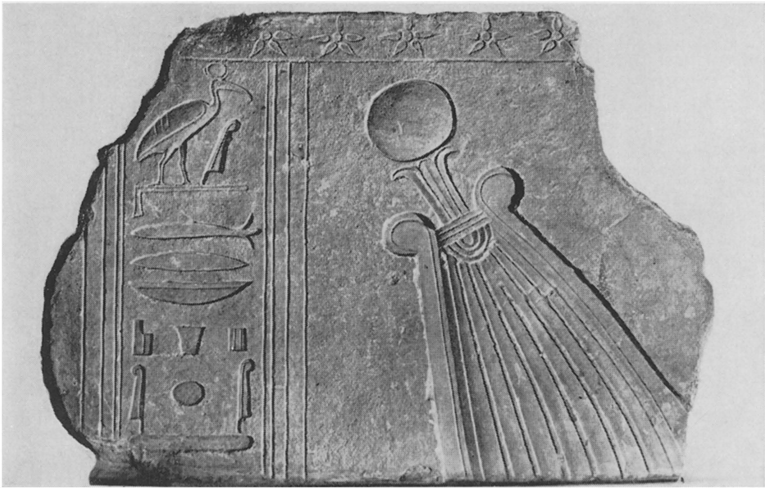


76

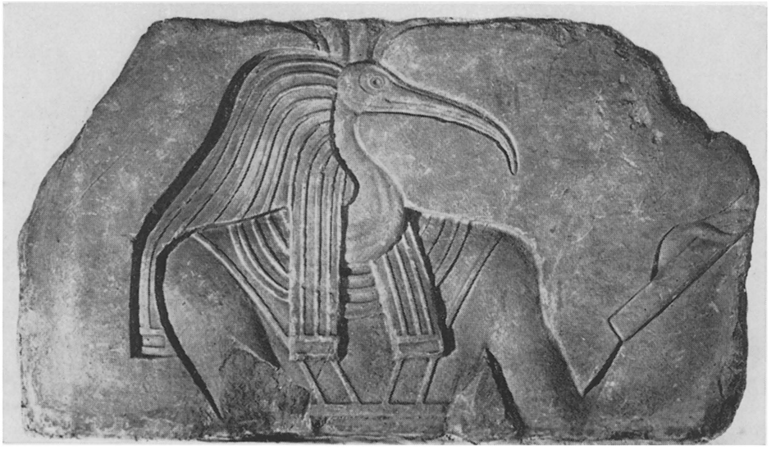
PLATE LVI



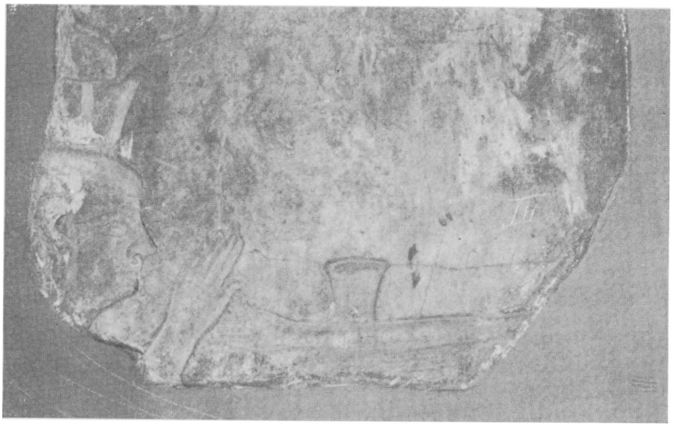
77



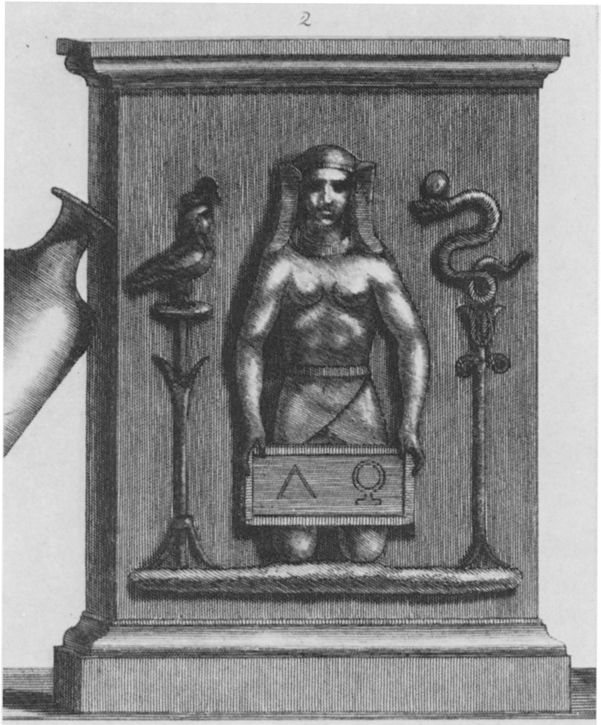
78



79



80



81

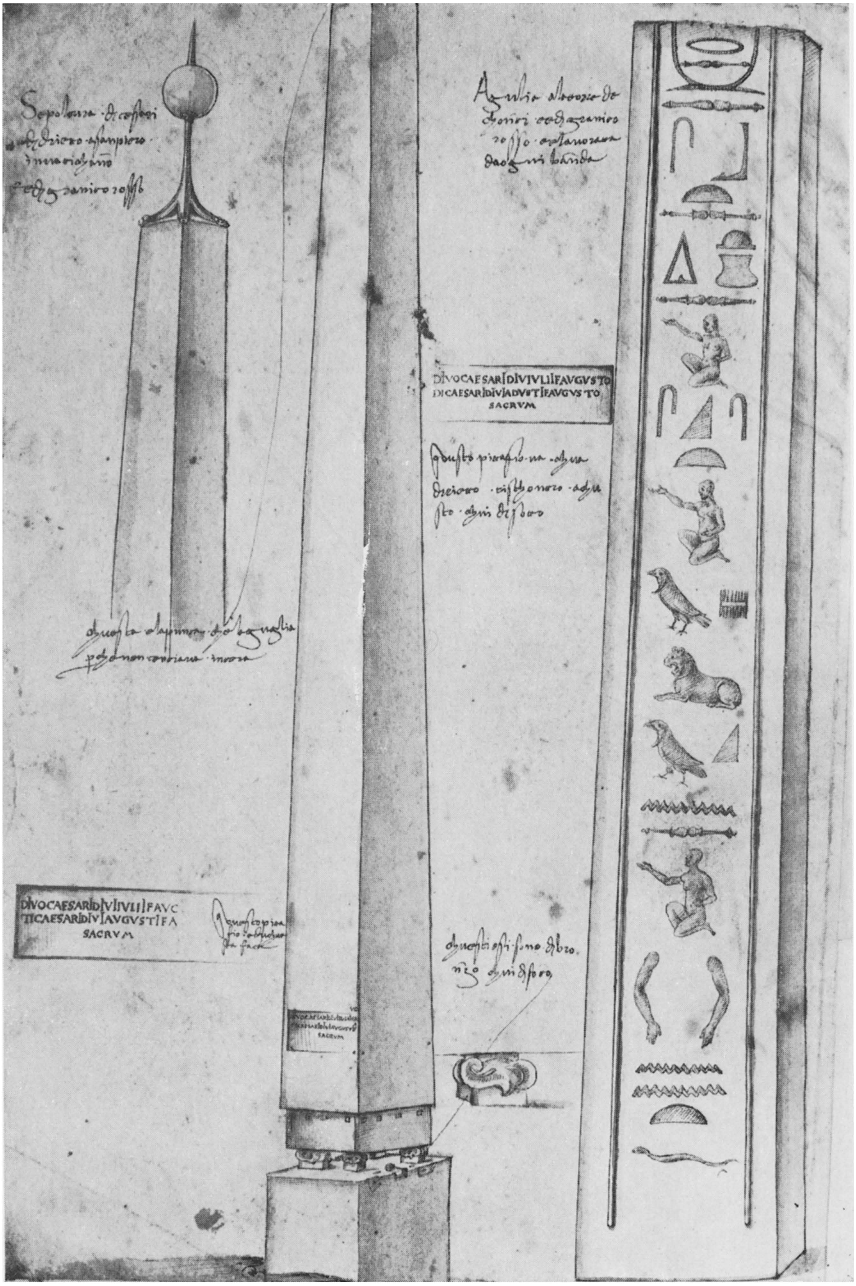

Sepoltura · di cesari
di drieto · a sanpiero ·
in mezo di chanpo
e di granito rosso
Aguglia alta braccia
... di granito
rosso · e stanno
da ogni banda
DIVOCAESARI DIVIVLII F AVGVSTO
DICAESARI DIVI ADVST I F AVGVS TO
SACRVM
Questo pitaffio · va · dala
drieto · inchontro · a que
sto · chui di sopra
questa · e la pianta · della aguglia
perche non centrava · intera
DIVOCAESARI DIVI IVLII F AVC
TICAESARI DIVI AVGVSTI F A
SACRVM
Questo pita
ffio · dallaltra
faccia
questi · ossi · sono di bro
nzo · chui di sopra

PLATE LIX

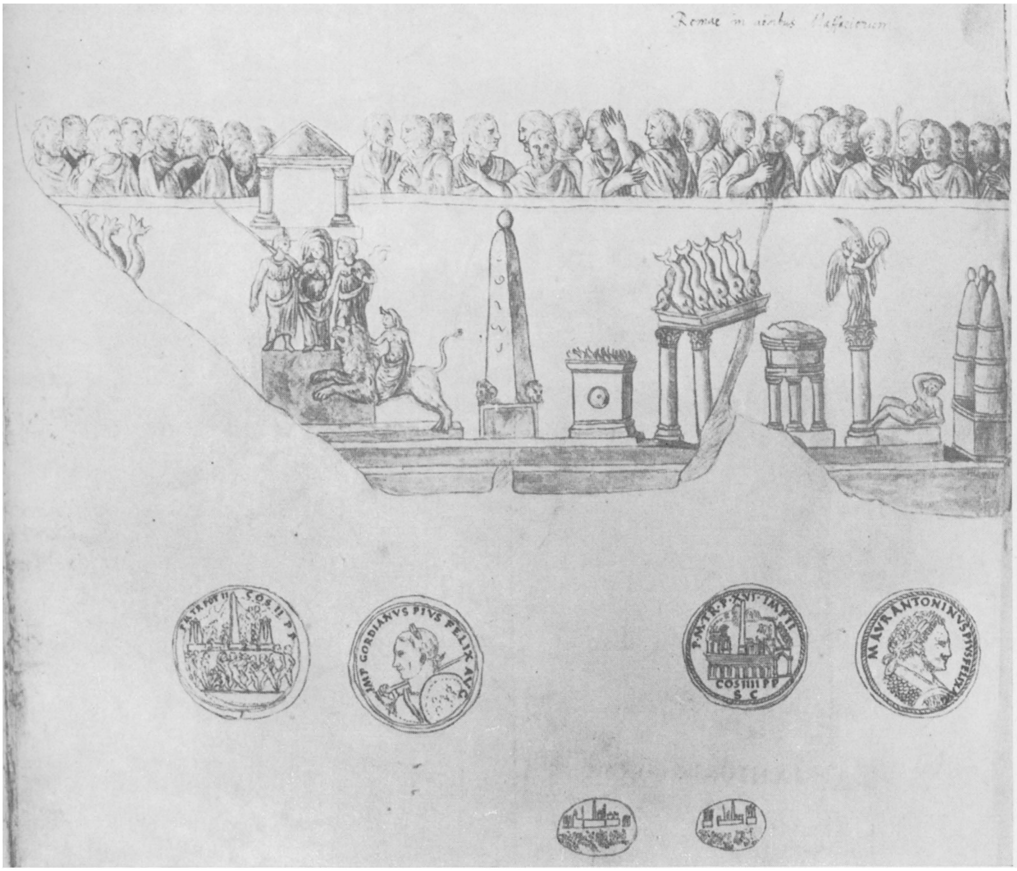
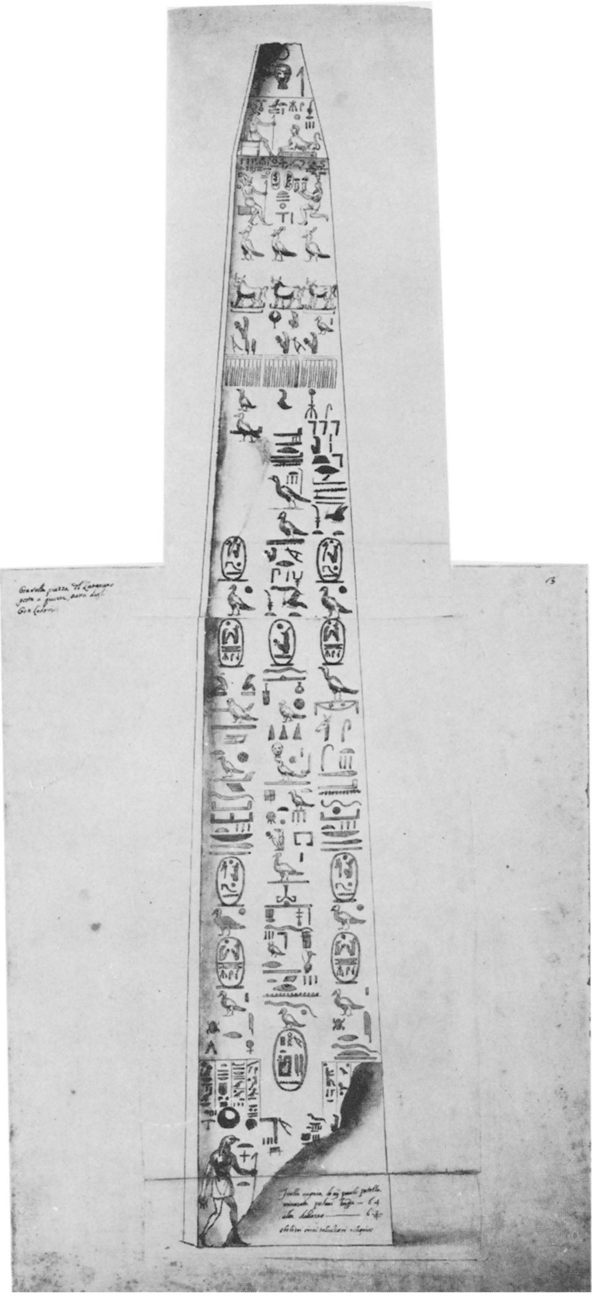

Romae in aedibus Maffeiorum
P.M.TR.POT.II COS.II P.P.
IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FELIX AVG
P.M.TR.P.XVI.IMP.II
COS IIII P P
S C
M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX

PLATE LX


Gravela piazza di Laterano
posta a giacere, parte degli
Gio Colonna
13
Questa aguglia [illegible] palmi longa — 64
alta [illegible] — 6
[illegible]

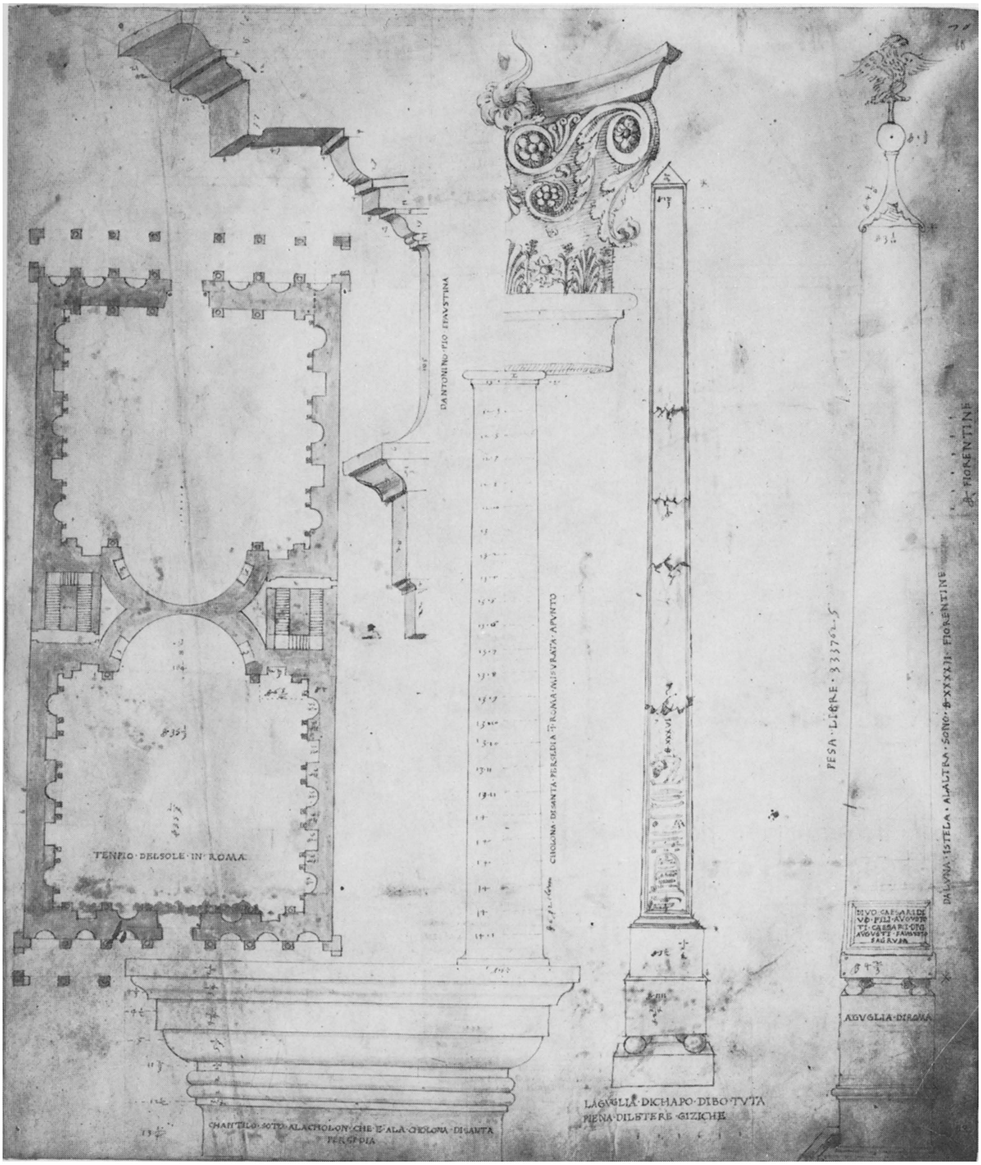
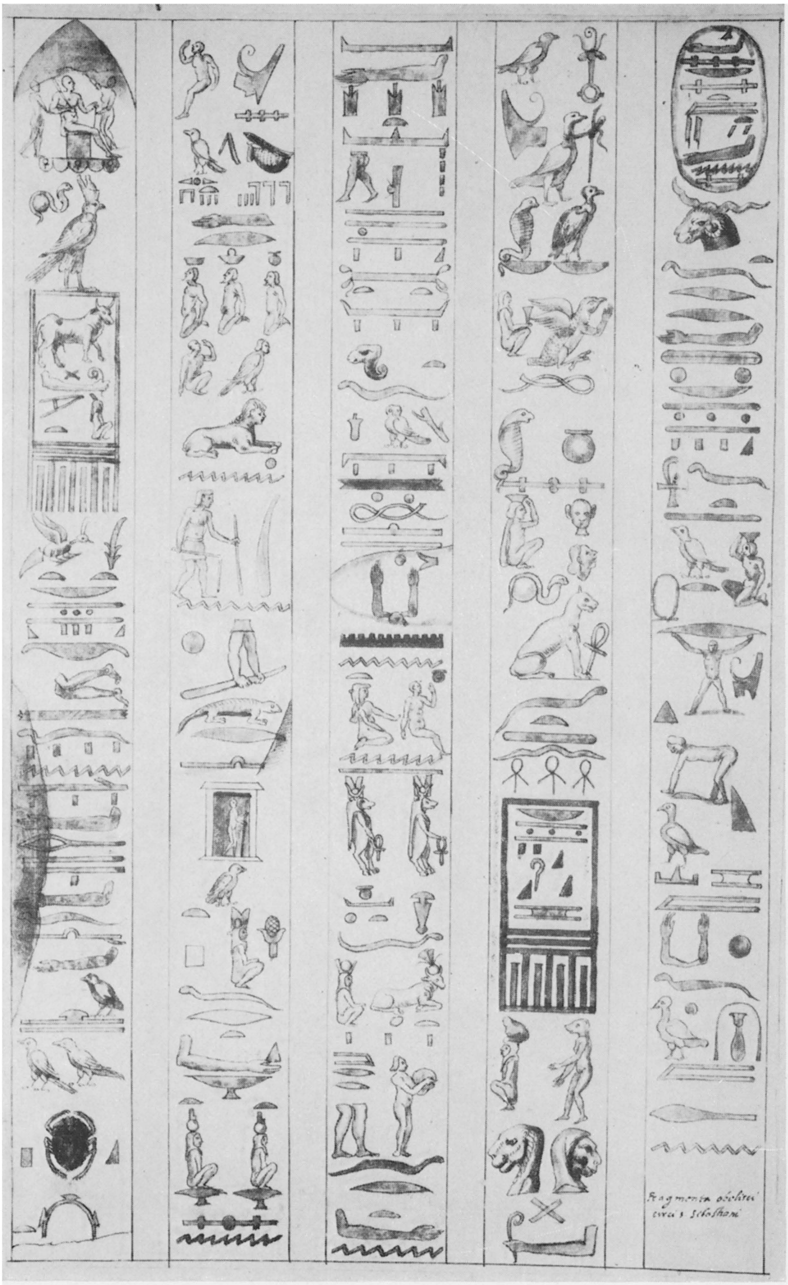

TENPIO·DELSOLE·IN·ROMA
DANTONINO·PIO·EFAVSTINA
CHOLONA·DISANTA·PERSEDIA·IN·ROMA·MISVRATA·APVNTO
LAGVGLIA·DICHAPO·DIBO·TVTA
PIENA·DILETERE·GIZICHE
PESA·LIBRE·333762·5
DALVNA·ISTELA·ALALTRA·SONO·B·XXXXII·FIORENTINE
FIORENTINE
DIVO·CAESARI·DE
VO·FILI·AVGVSTO
TI·CAESARI·DIVI
AVGVSTI·FAVGVSTO
SACRVM
AGVGLIA·DIROMA
CHAPITELO·SOTO·ALACHOLON·CHE·E·ALA·CHOLONA·DISANTA
PERSEDIA

PLATE LXII


Fragmenta obelisci
circi s. Sebastiani

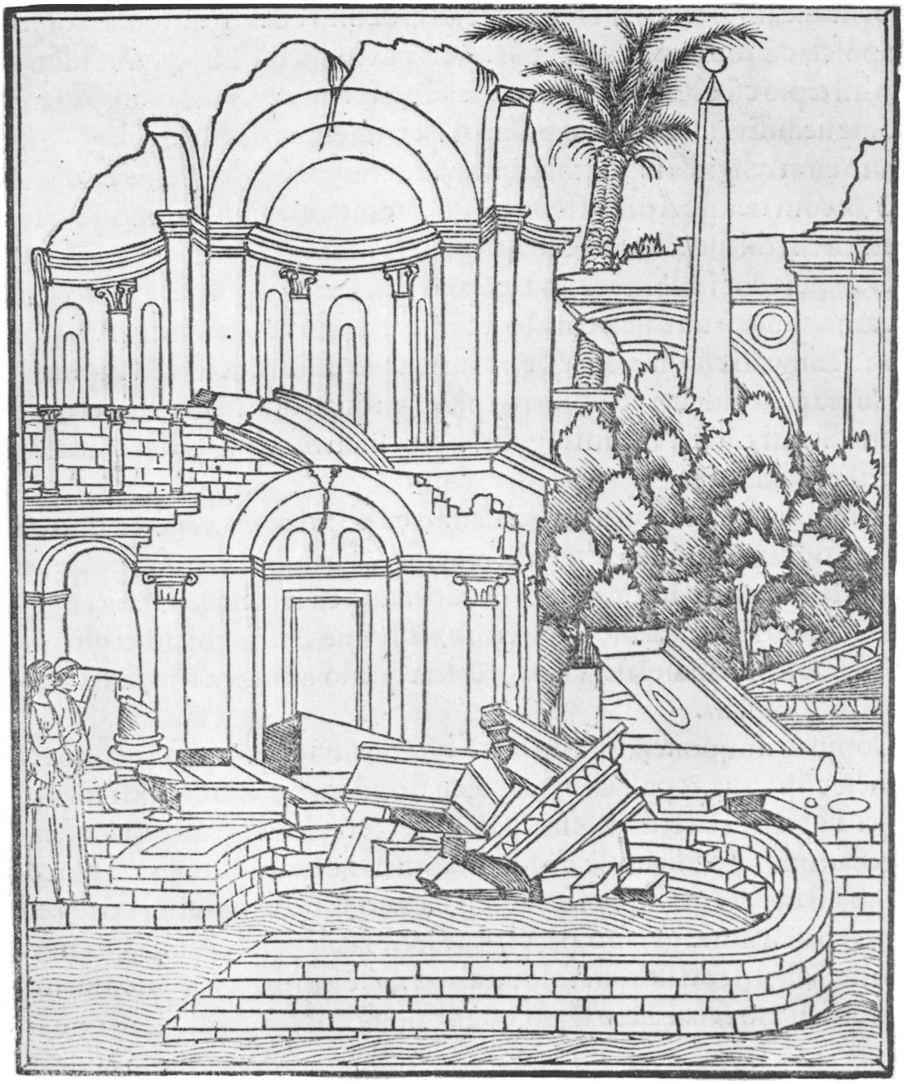
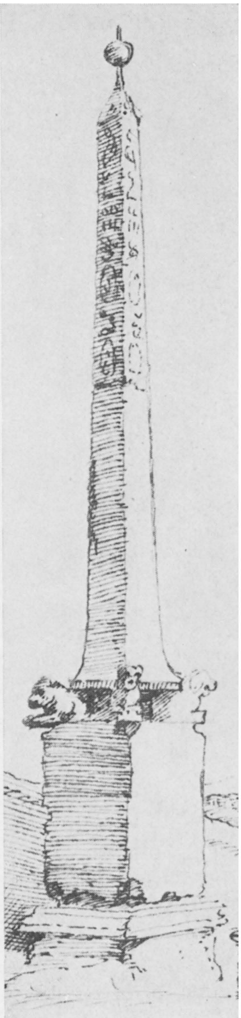
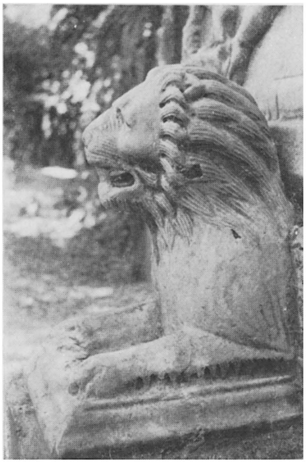


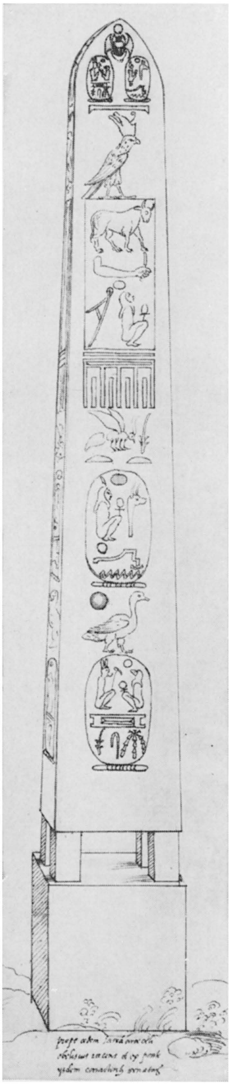
PLATE LXIV



88



89



90

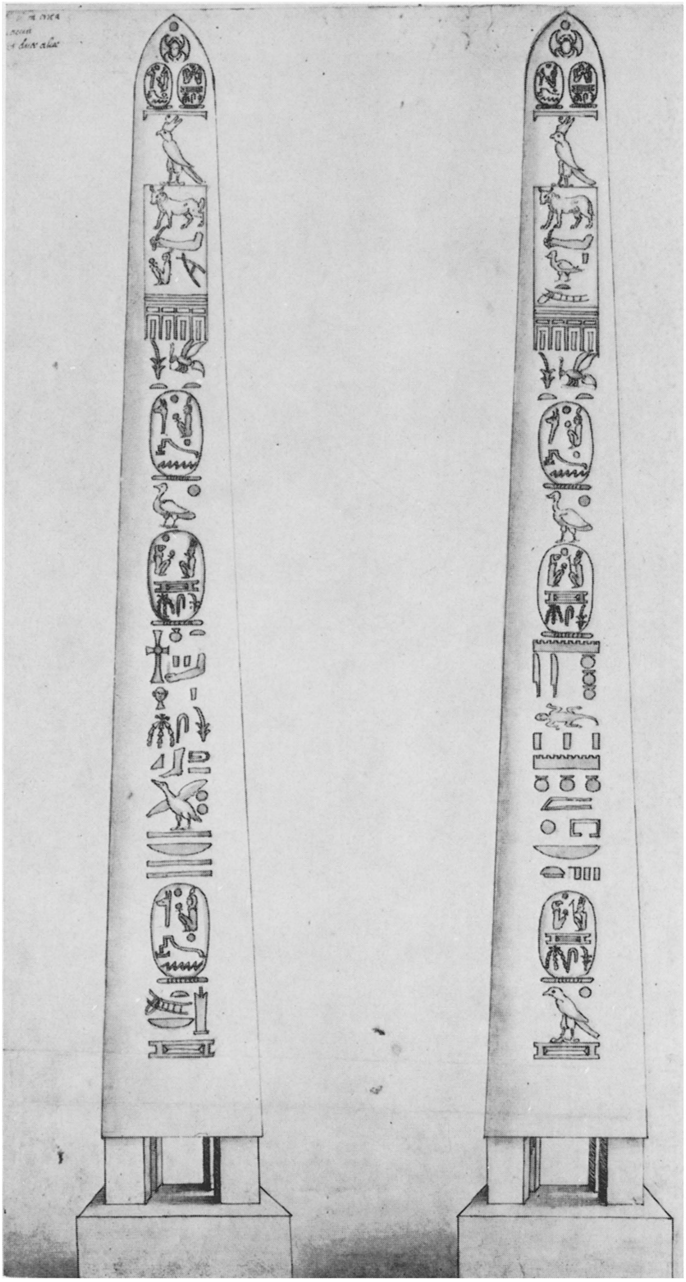

m circa
duae aliae

Plate LXVI

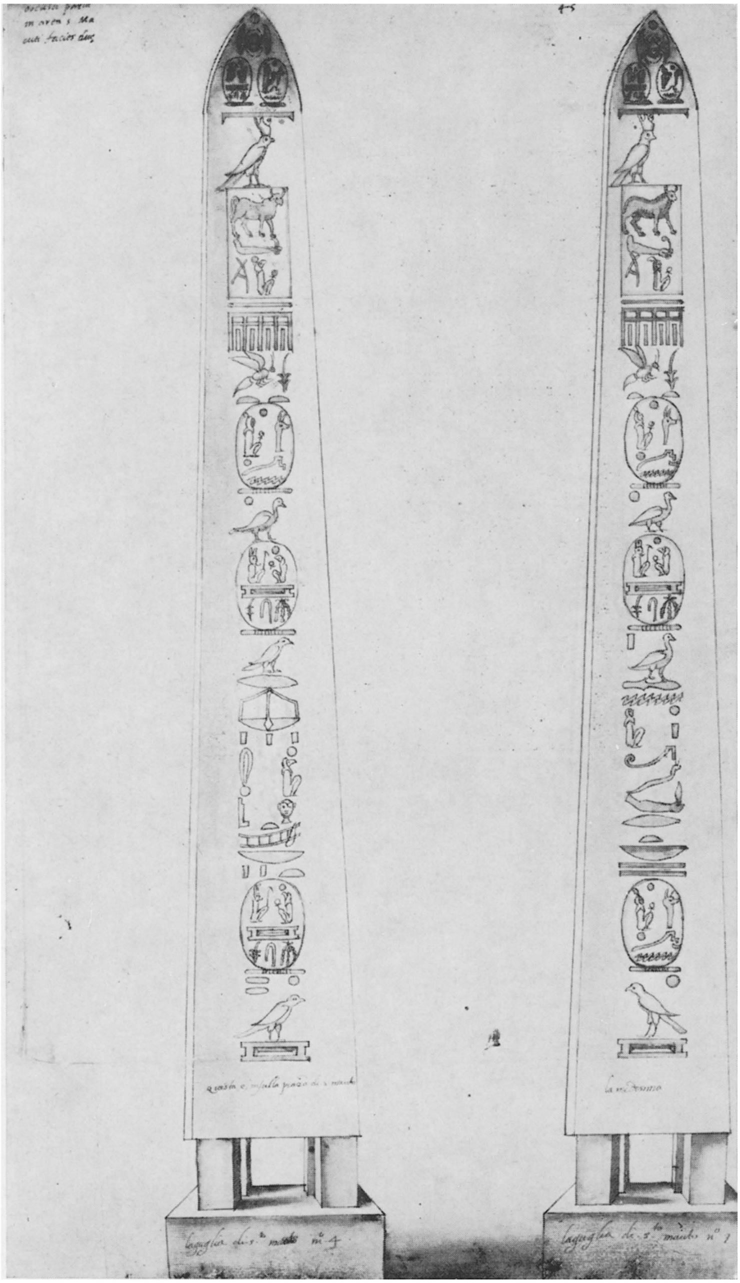

in aren s. Ma
cuti facies
45
questa e insulla piazza di s macuto
la medesima
laguglia di s.to macuto n.o 4
laguglia di s.to macuto n.o 7

PLATE LXVII

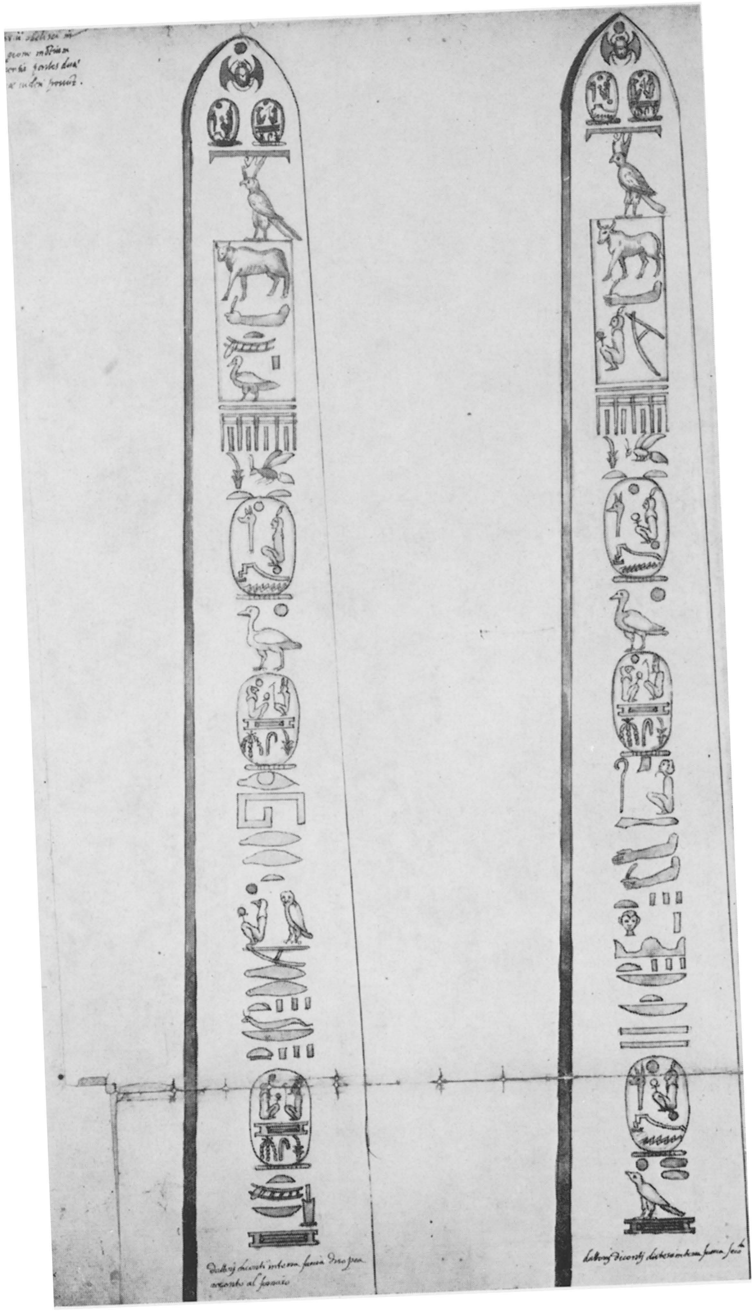
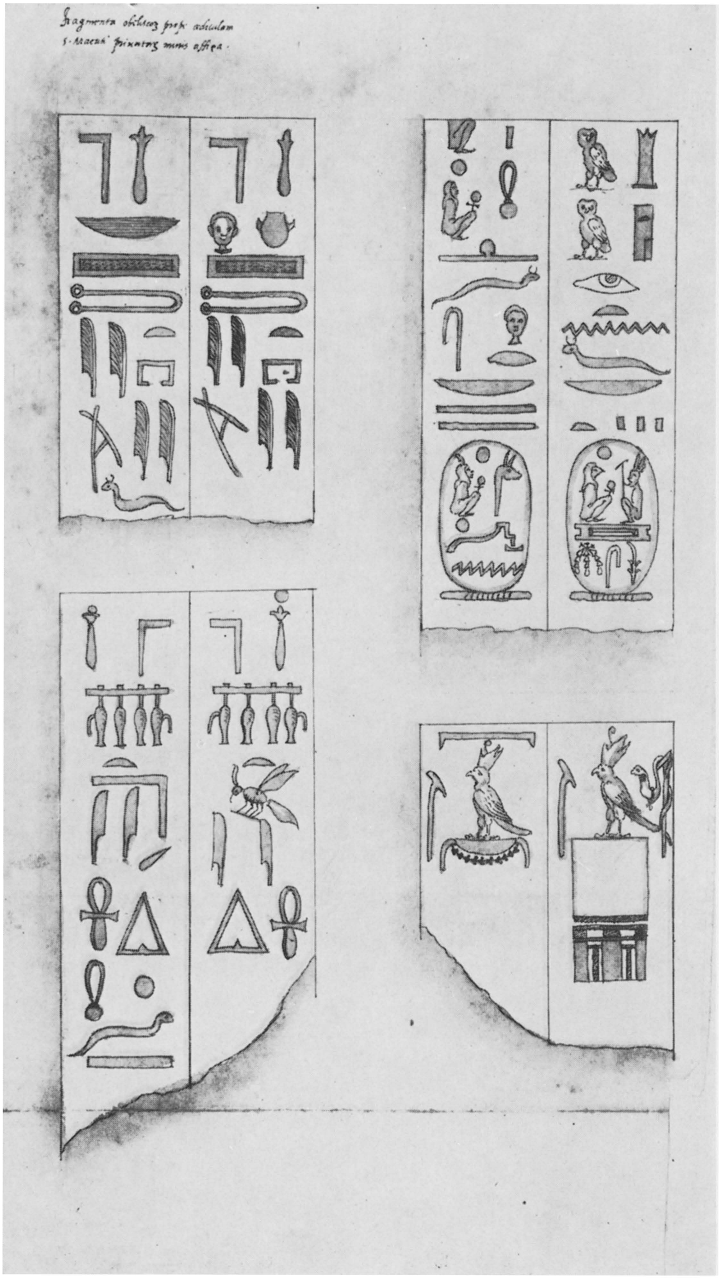


PLATE LXVIII


Fragmenta obeliscorum prope aediculam
S. Macuti privatis muris effossa.

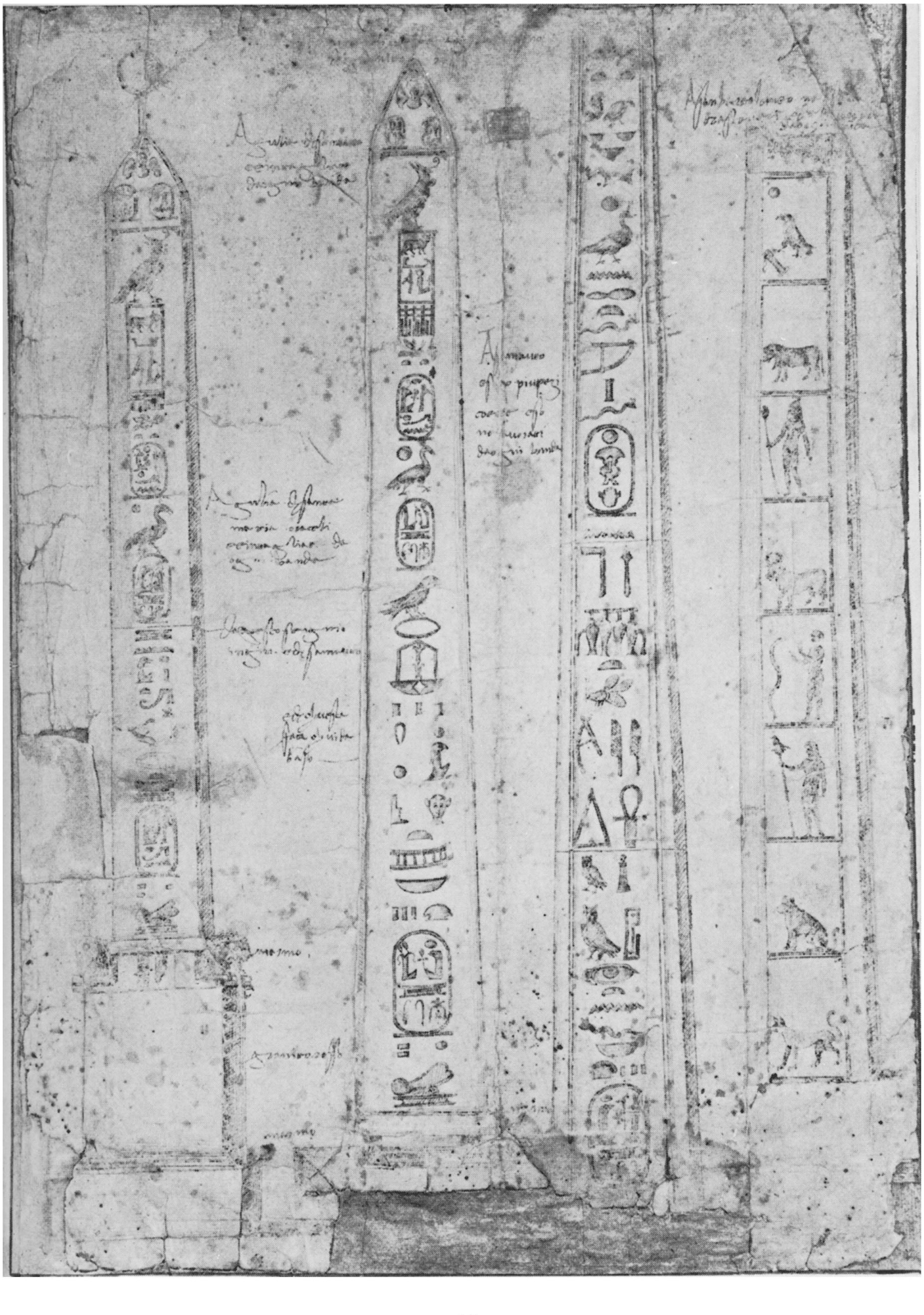

marmo.
marmo

PLATE LXX

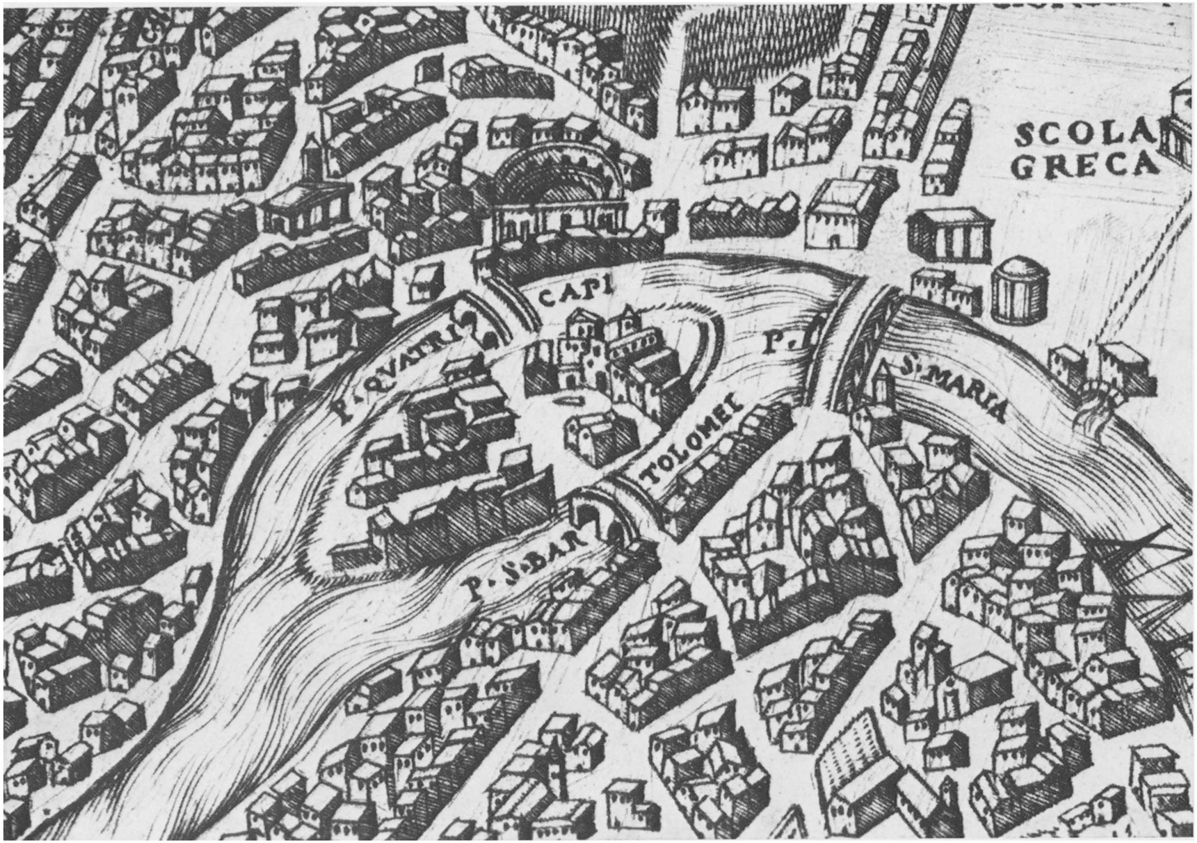
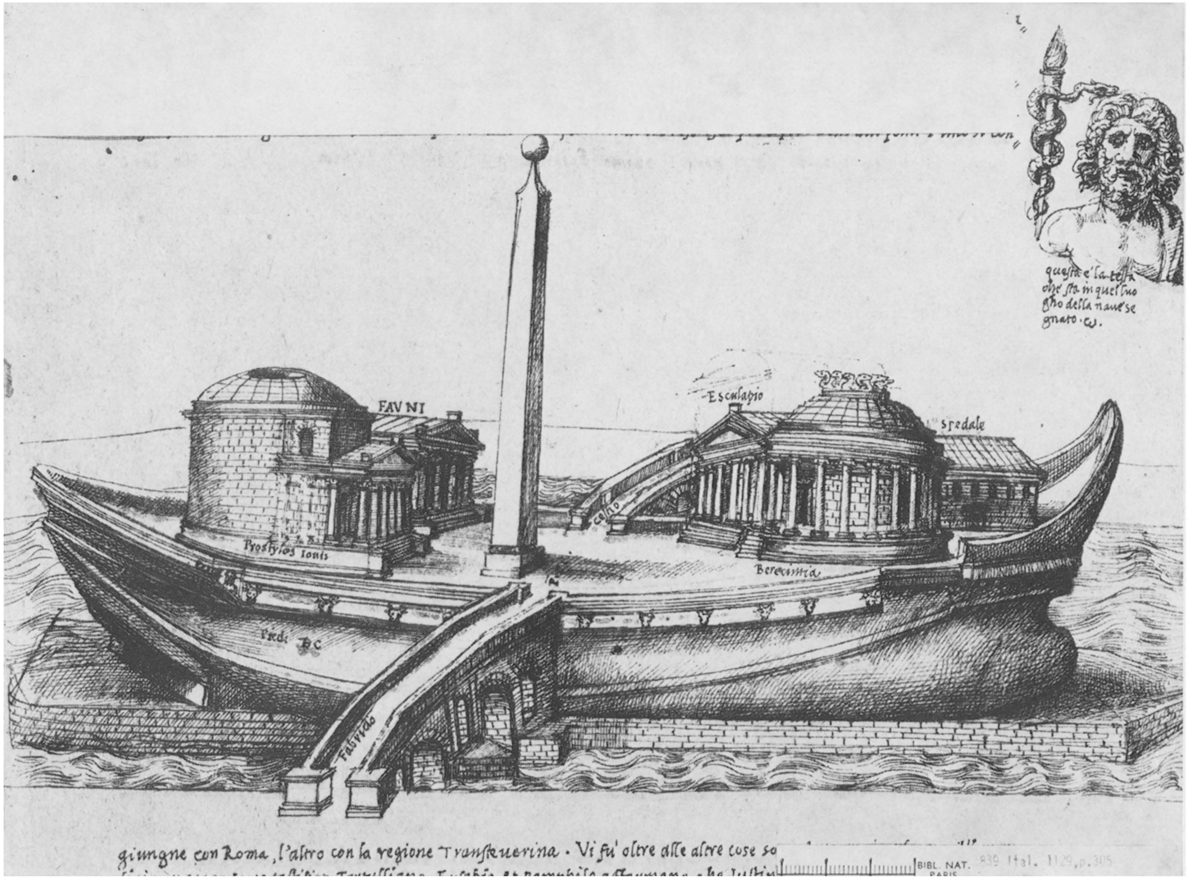
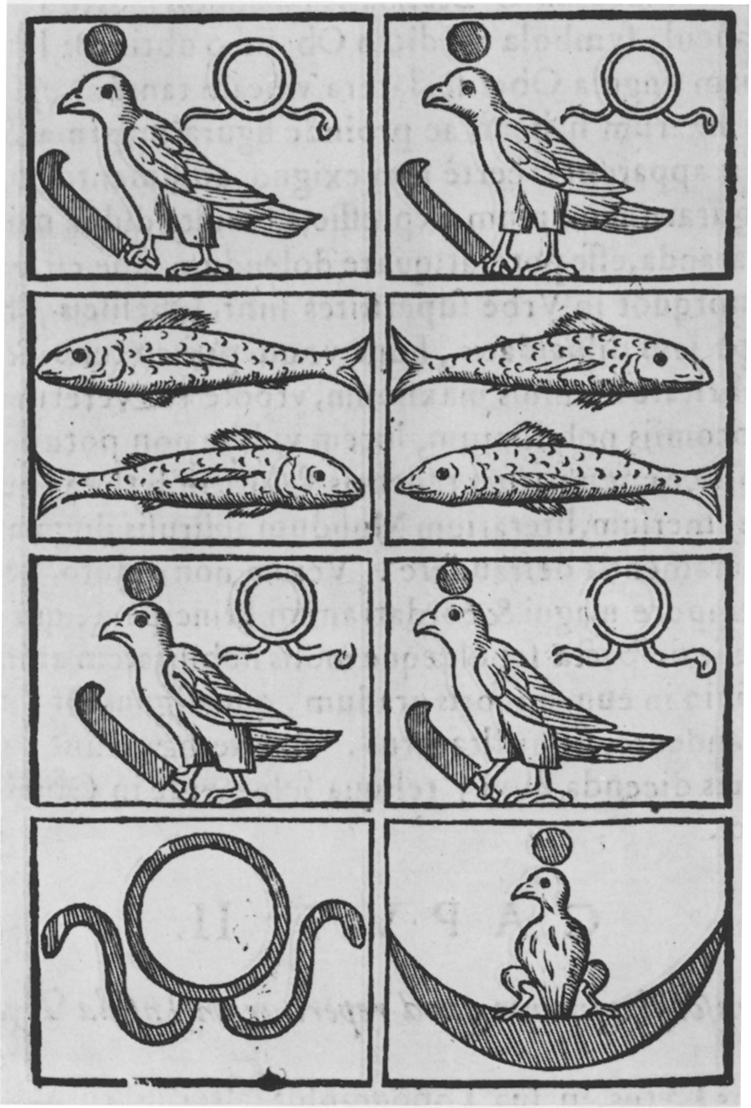

SCOLA GRECA
CAPI
P. QVATRI
P.
S. MARIA
TOLOMEI
P. S. BAR

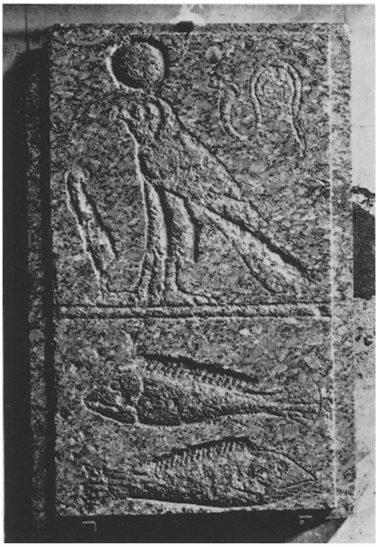
PLATE LXXI


FAVNI
Prostylos Iouis
Fred. BC
Fabricio
Cestio
Esculapio
Berecintia
spedale
questa e' la testa
che sta in quel luo
gho della naue se
gnato · c.
BIBL. NAT. PARIS
839 Ital. 1129, p.305

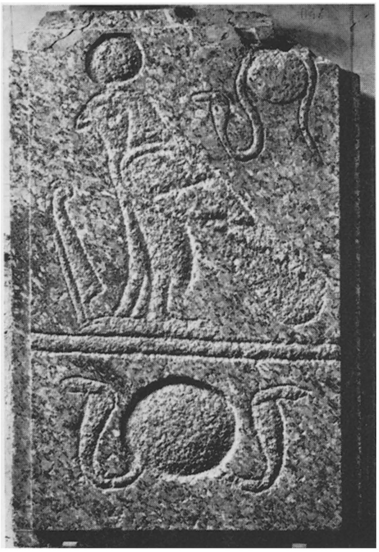
giungne con Roma, l'altro con la regione Transteuerina · Vi fu' oltre alle altre cose so

Plate LXXII

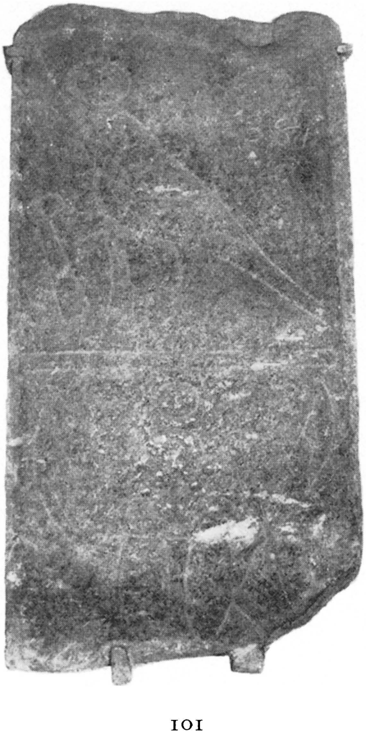




99

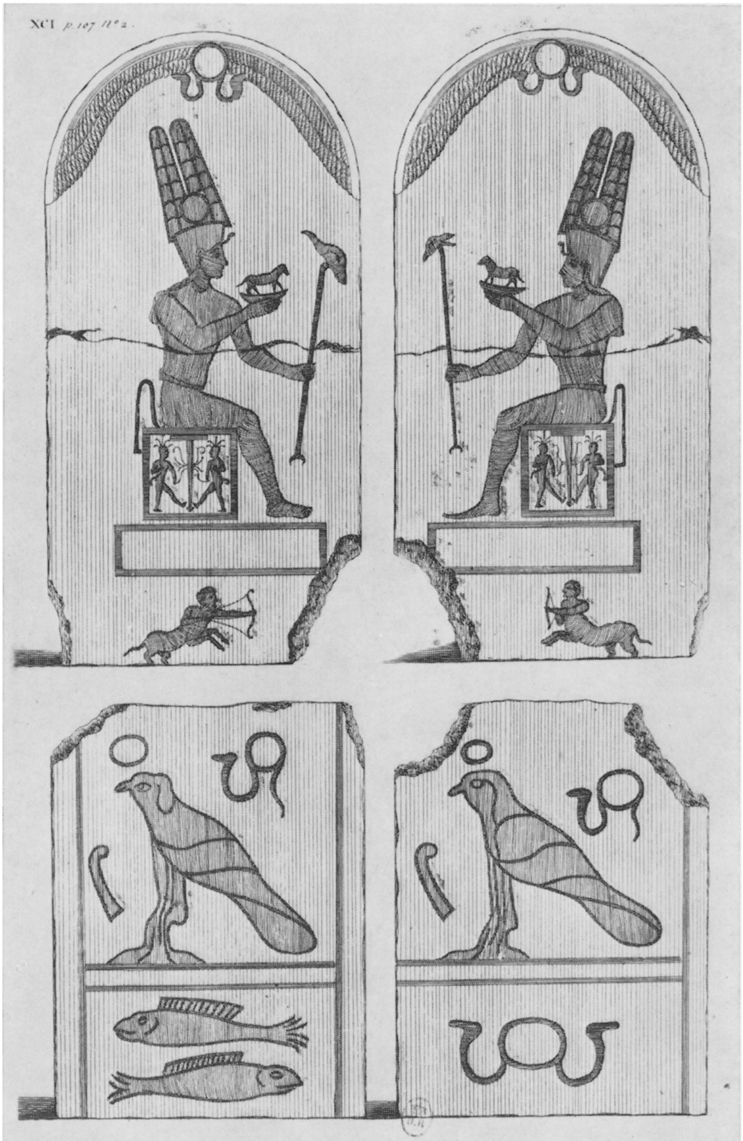


100



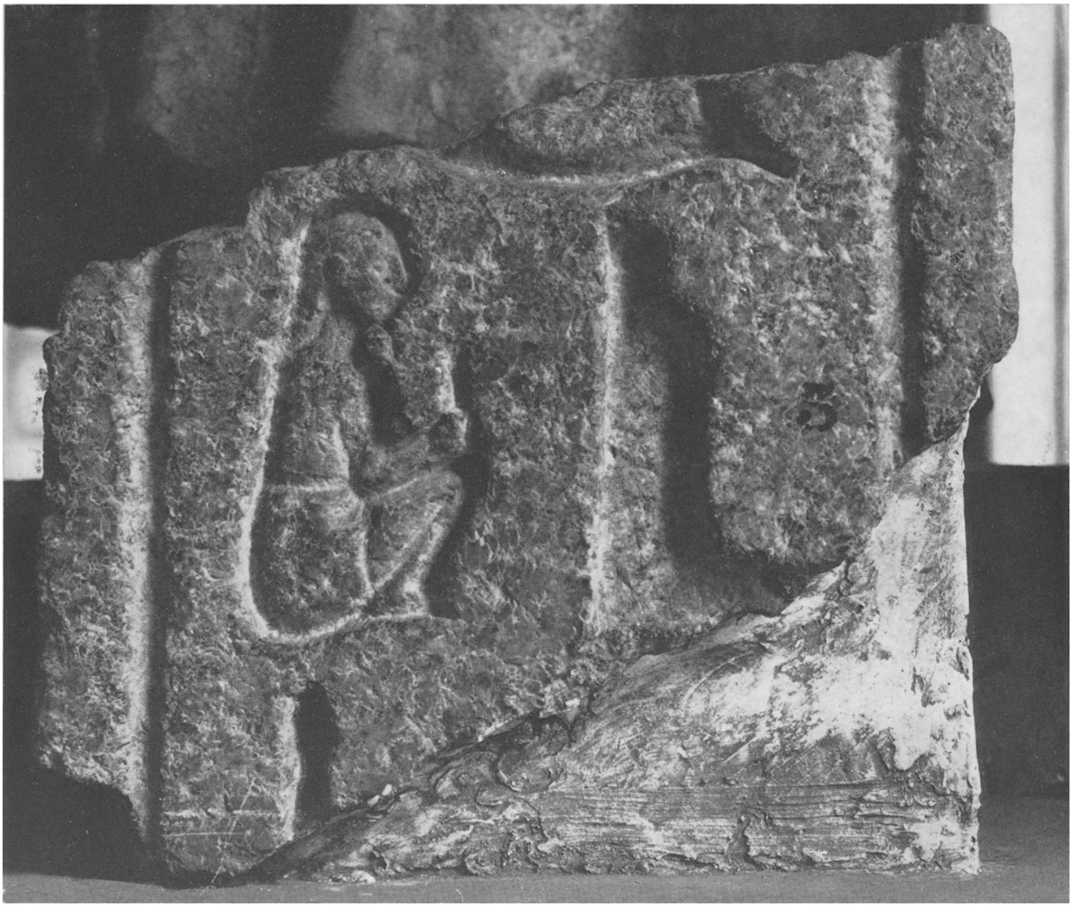
101

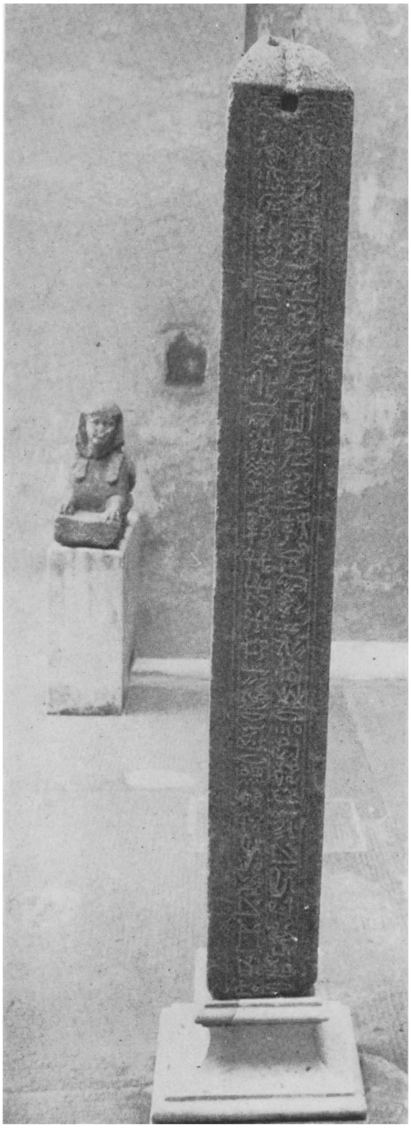
PLATE LXXIV


XCI p. 107 Nº 2.

A FRAGMENT of an OBELISK at ROME.

PLATE LXXV





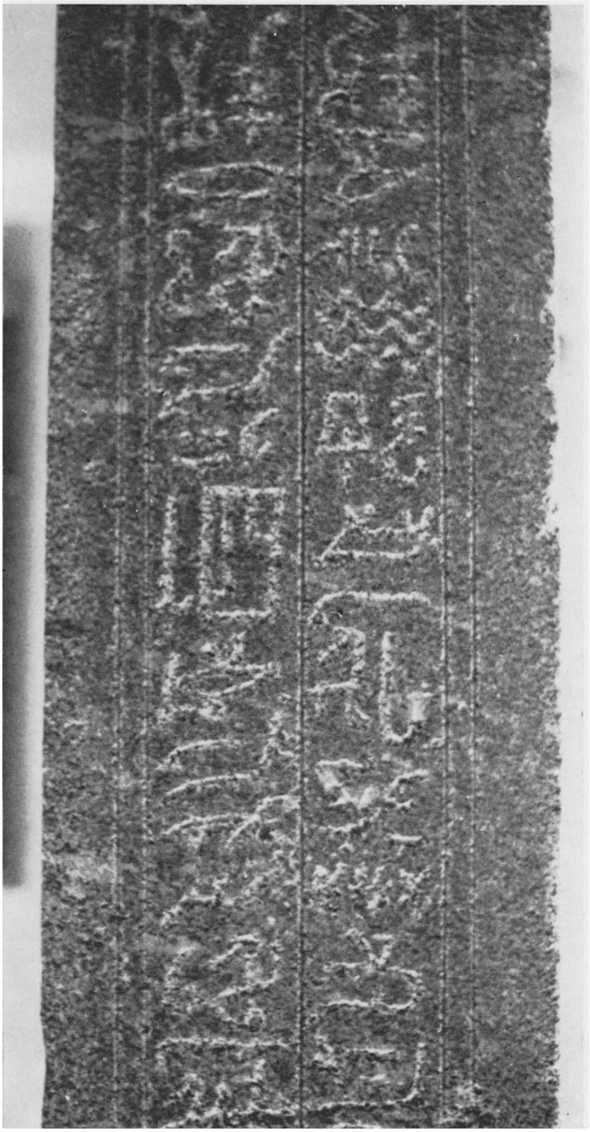
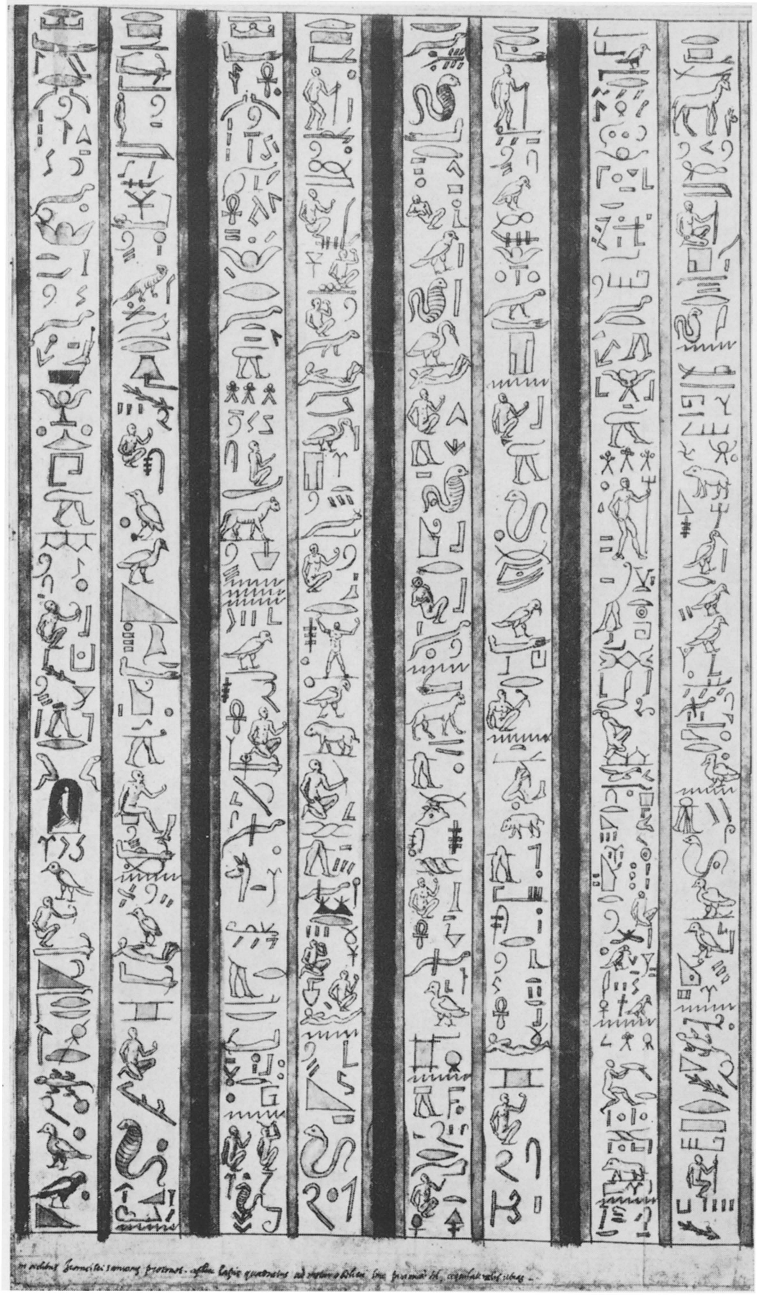
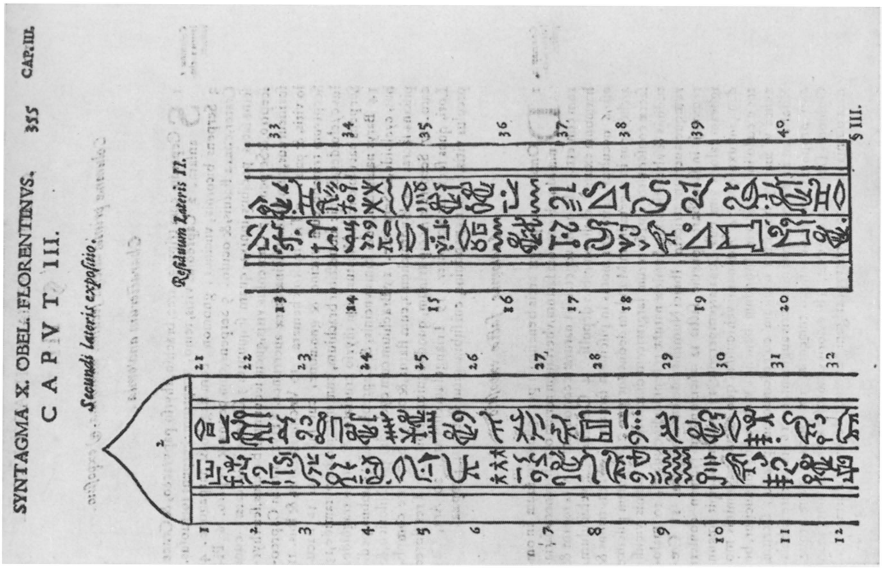


Plate LXXVIII





SYNTAGMA X. OBEL. FLORENTINVS. 355 CAP. III.

CAPVT III.

Secundi lateris expositio.

Residuum Lateris II.

§ III.

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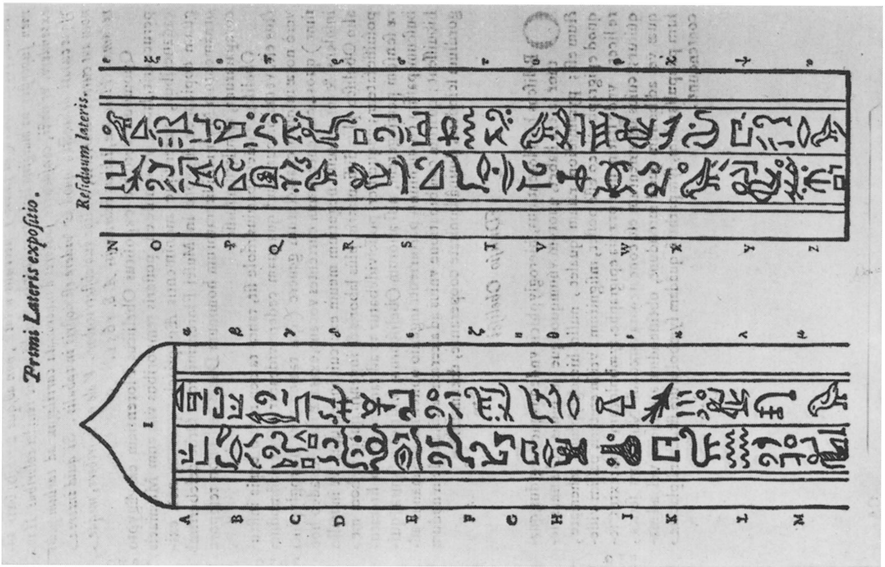
108



Primi Lateris expositio.

Residuum lateris.

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R
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Y
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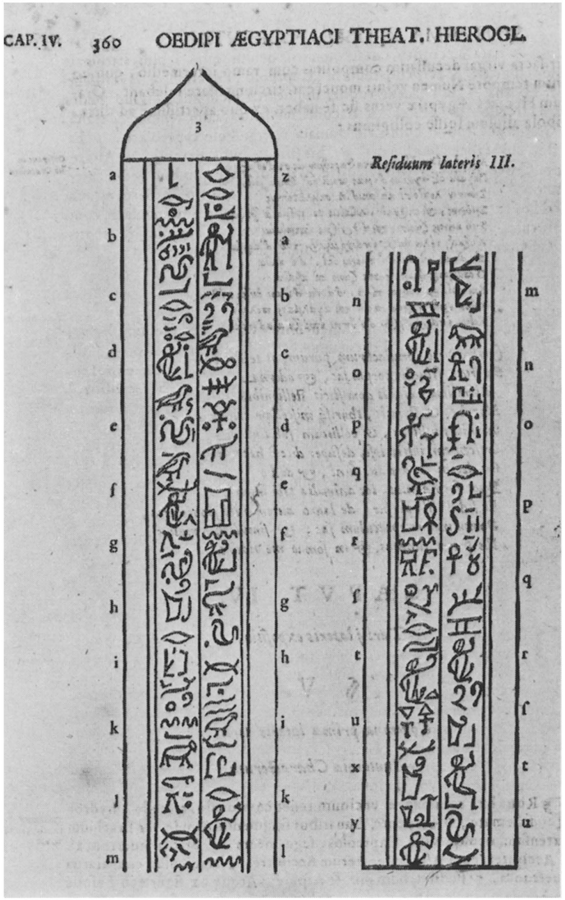
107

PLATE LXXX


CAP. IV. 360 OEDIPI ÆGYPTIACI THEAT. HIEROGL.

Reſiduum lateris III.

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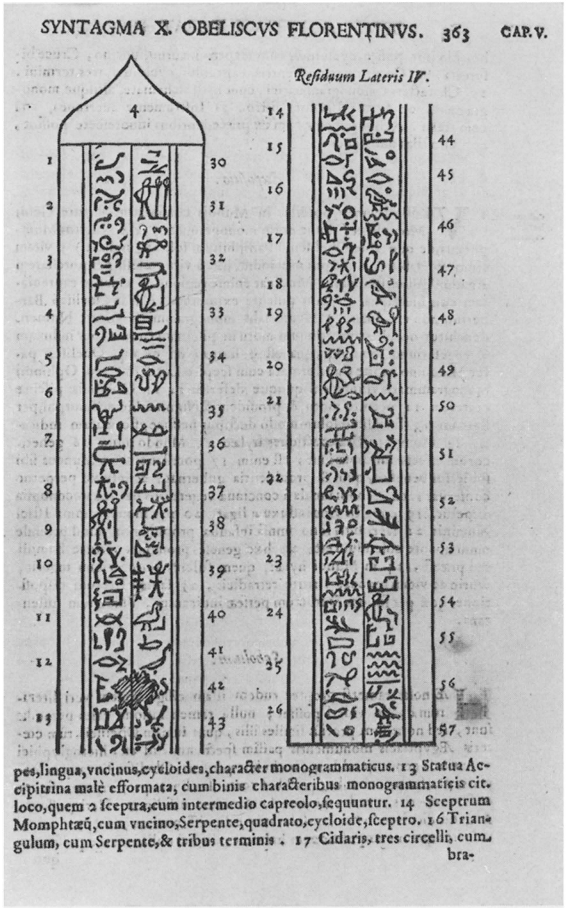
109


SYNTAGMA X. OBELISCVS FLORENTINVS. 363 CAP. V.

Reſiduum Lateris IV.

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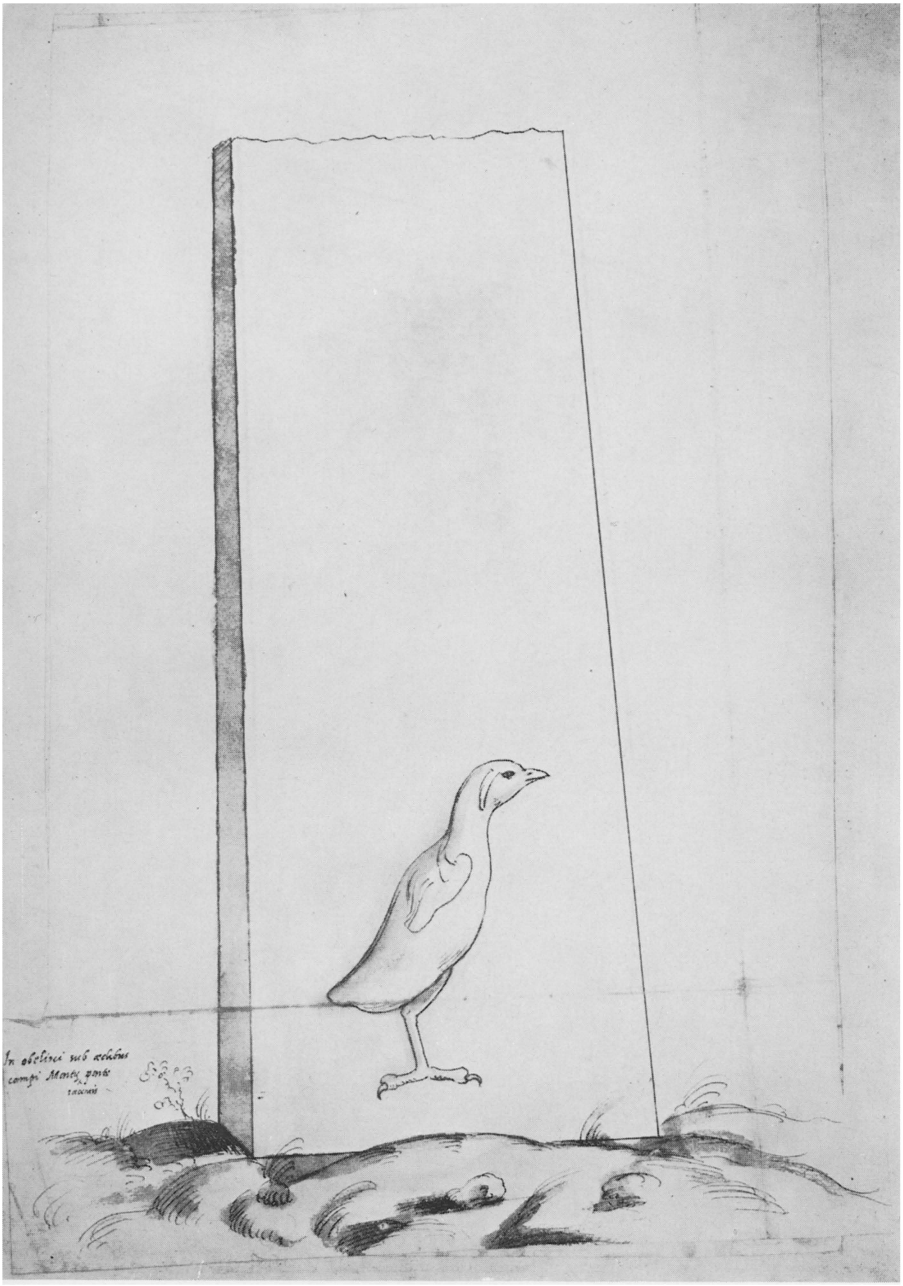
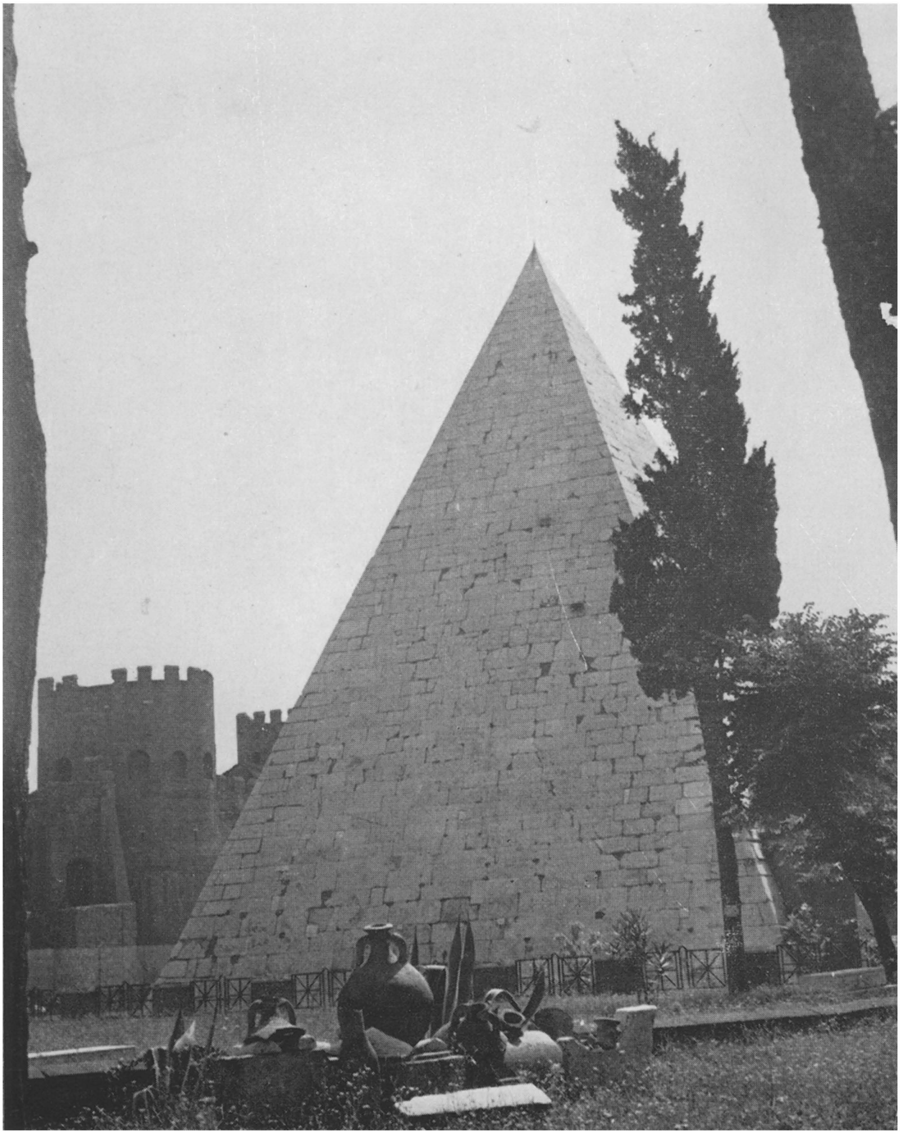
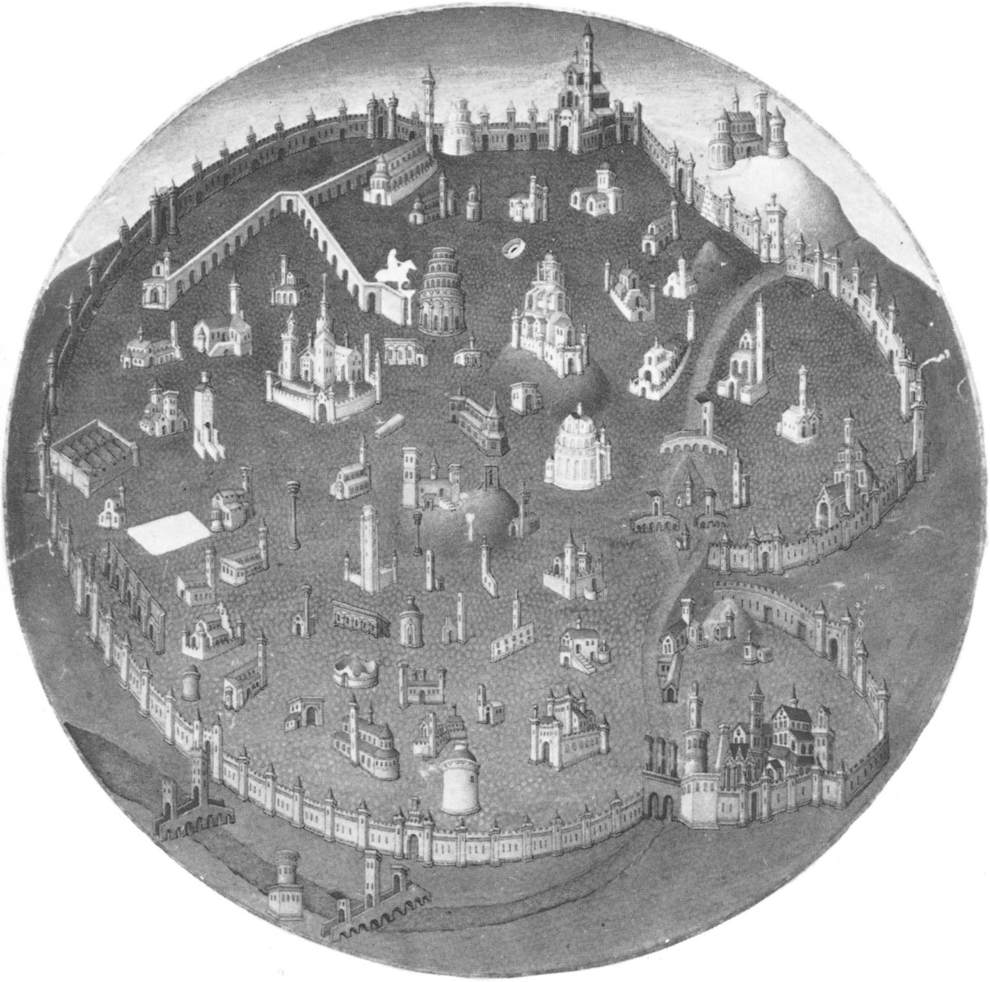
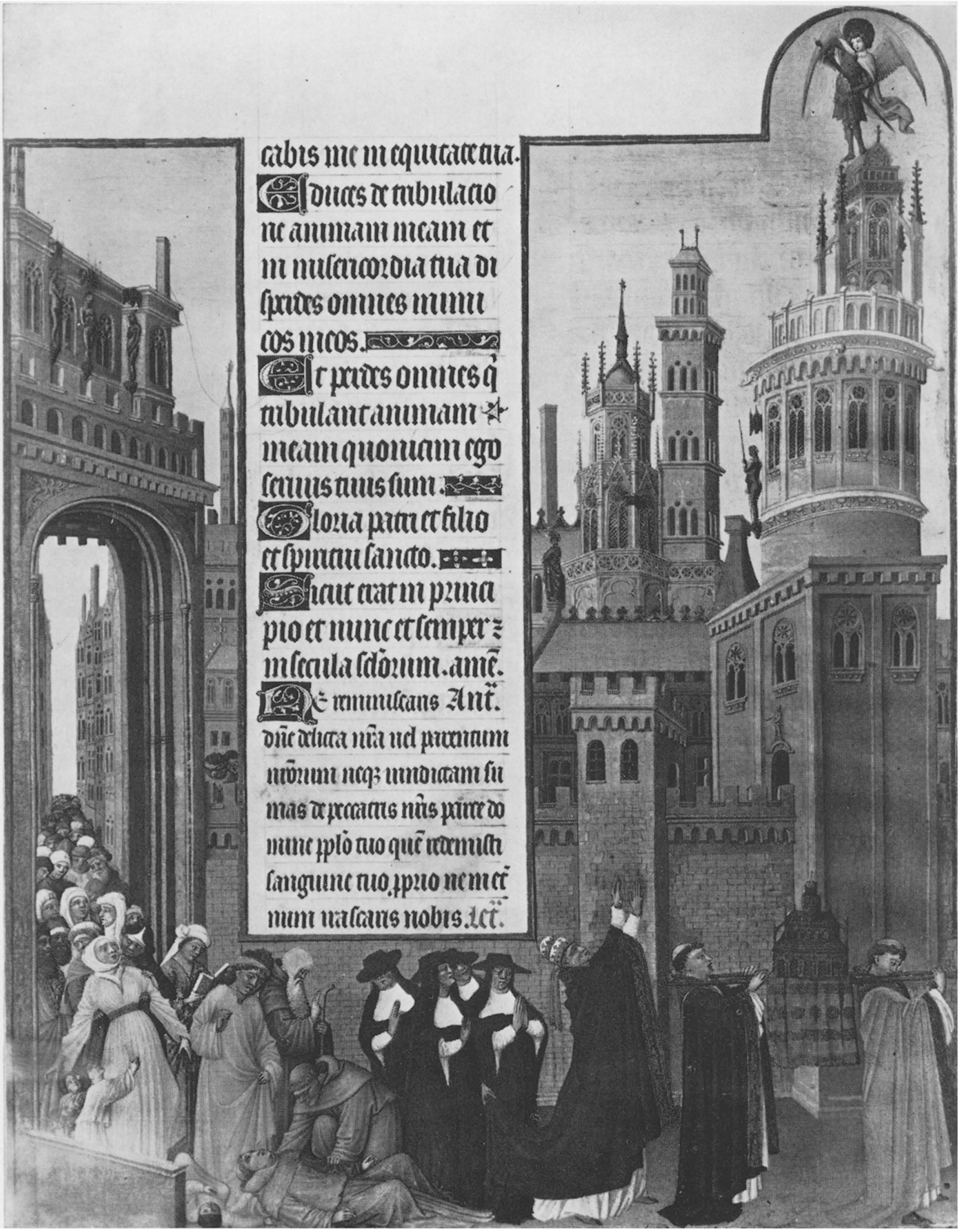
pes, lingua, vncinus, cycloides, character monogrammaticus. 13 Statua Accipitrina malè efformata, cum binis characteribus monogrammaticis cit. loco, quem 2 ſceptra, cum intermedio capreolo, ſequuntur. 14 Sceptrum Momphtæû, cum vncino, Serpente, quadrato, cycloide, ſceptro. 16 Triangulum, cum Serpente, & tribus terminis. 17 Cidaris, tres circelli, cum bra-

110


In obelisci sub aedibus
campi Martis parte
iacentis







cabis me in equitate tua.

Educes de tribulatione animam meam et in misericordia tua disperdes omnes inimicos meos.

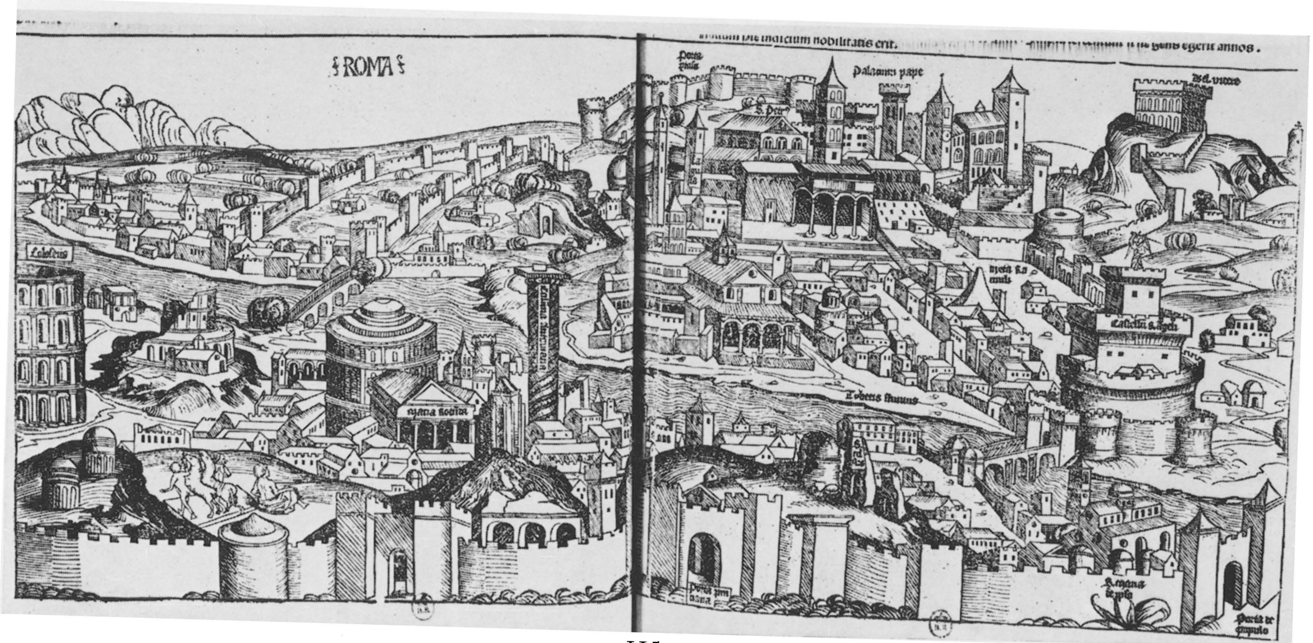
Et perdes omnes qui tribulant animam meam quoniam ego servus tuus sum.

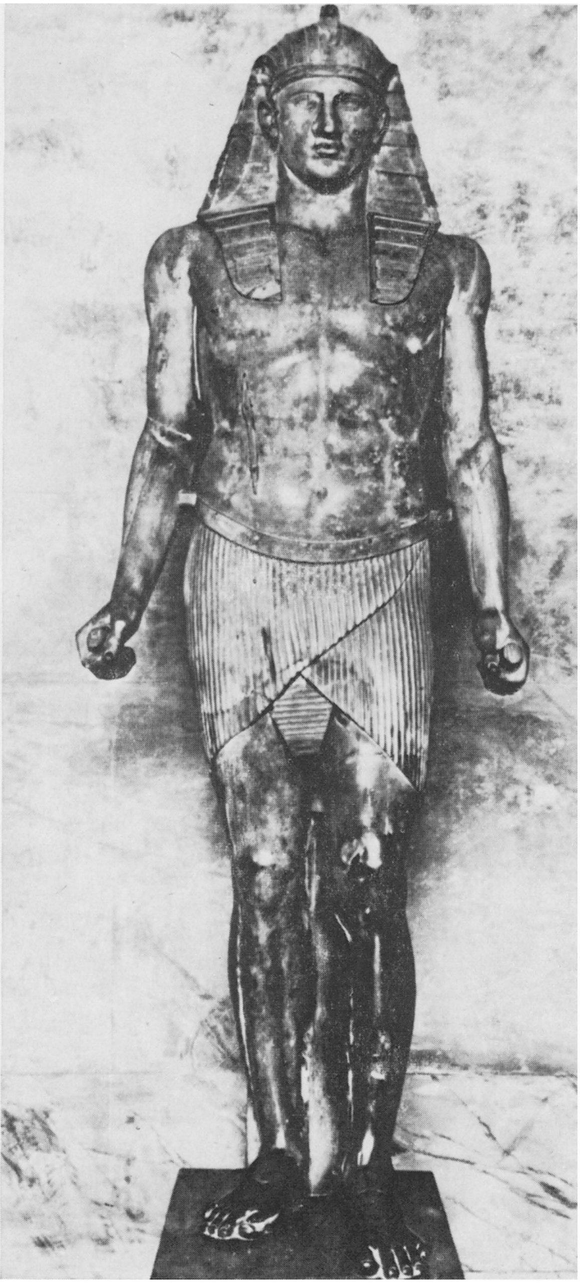
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula sclo͞rum. amē.

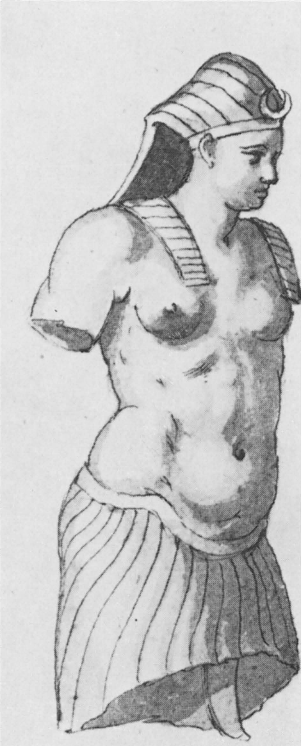
Ne reminiscaris Ant̃.

dñe delicta nr̃a vel parentum nr̃orum neqꝫ vindictam sumas de peccatis nr̃is parce domine ꝑplo tuo quē redemisti sanguine tuo ꝑꝓo ne in eternum irascaris nobis. Lect̃.


ROMA
nobilitatis erit.
gens egerit annos.
Palatium pape
S. Petr'
Bel videre
Castellu s. angeli
Tyberis fluuius
Coliseus
Columna Antoniana
Maria rotunda
Porta pinciana



116



117

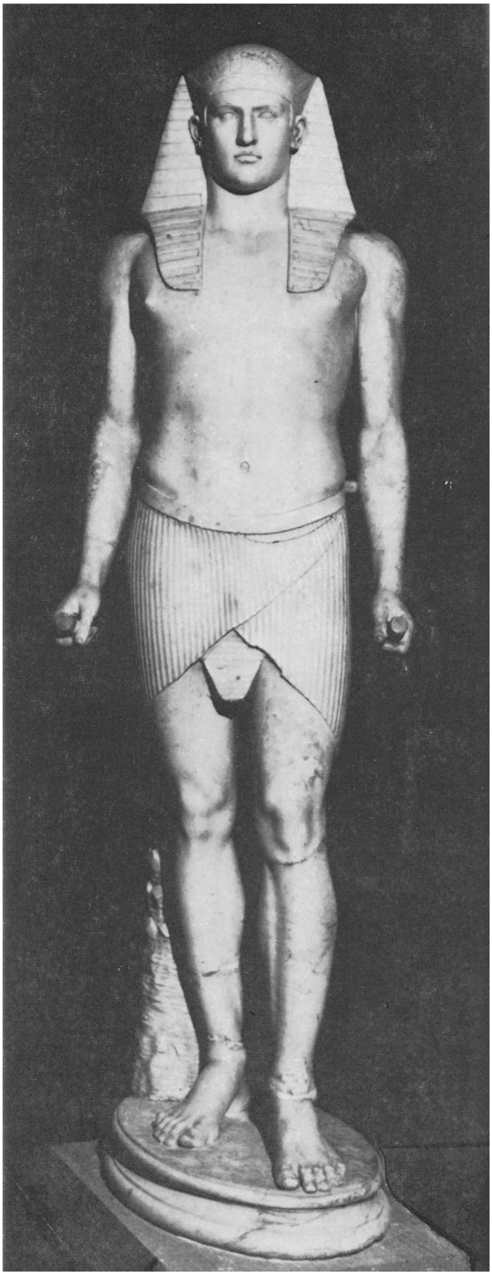


PLATE LXXXVIII

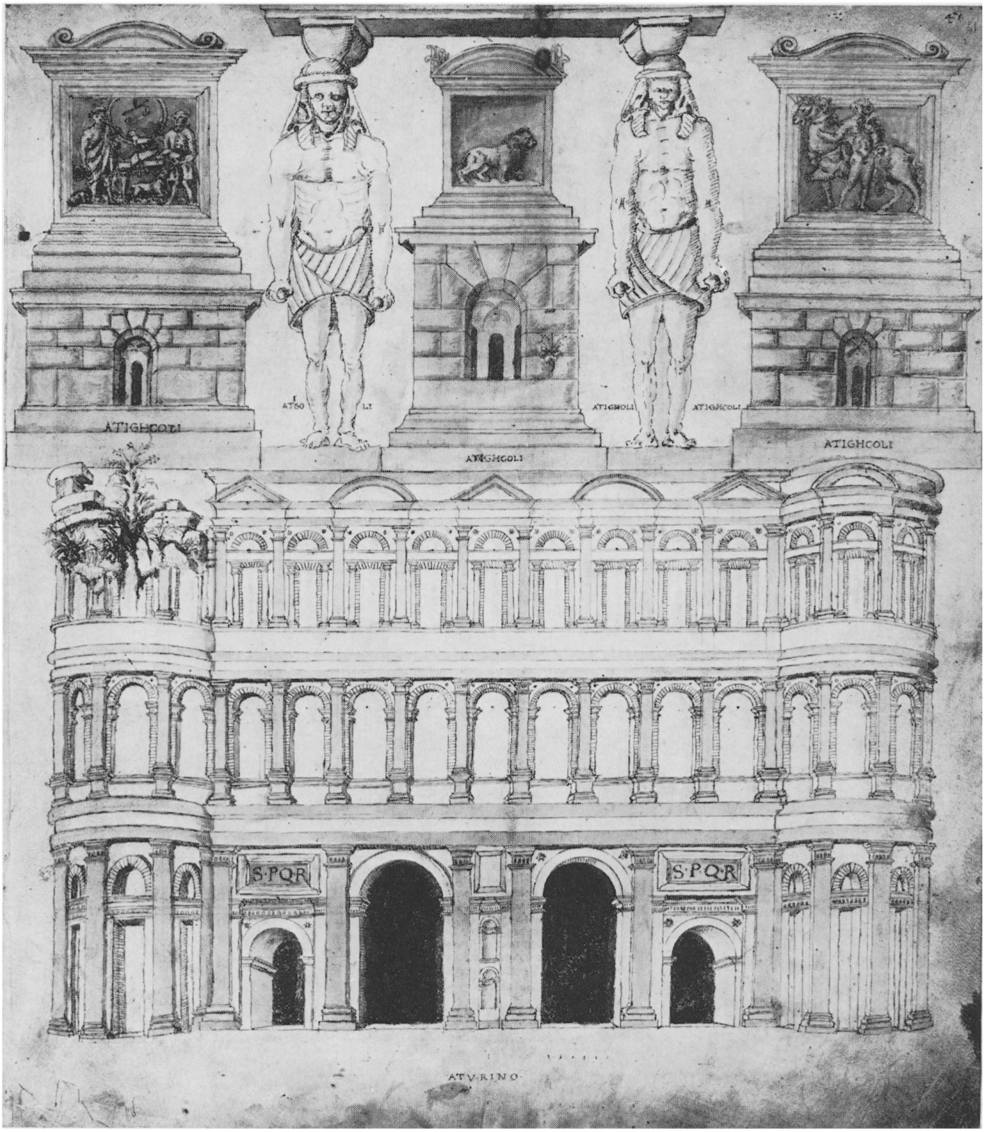

ATIGHCOLI
ATSO LI
ATIGHCOLI
ATIGHOLI
ATIGHCOLI
ATIGHCOLI
S·P·Q·R
S·P·Q·R
ATVRINO

PLATE LXXXIX

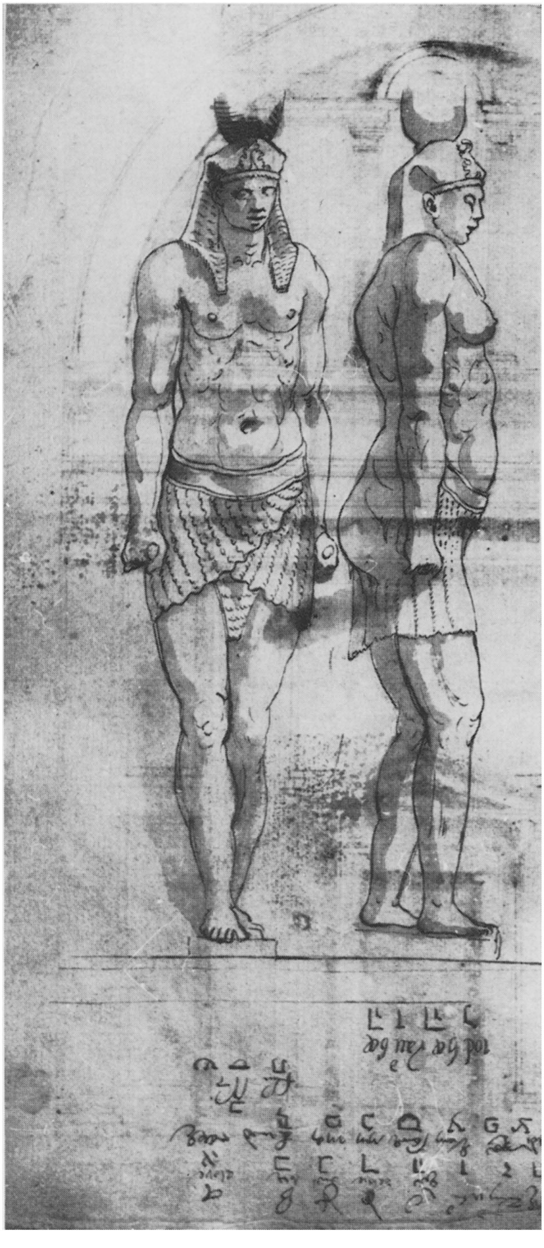
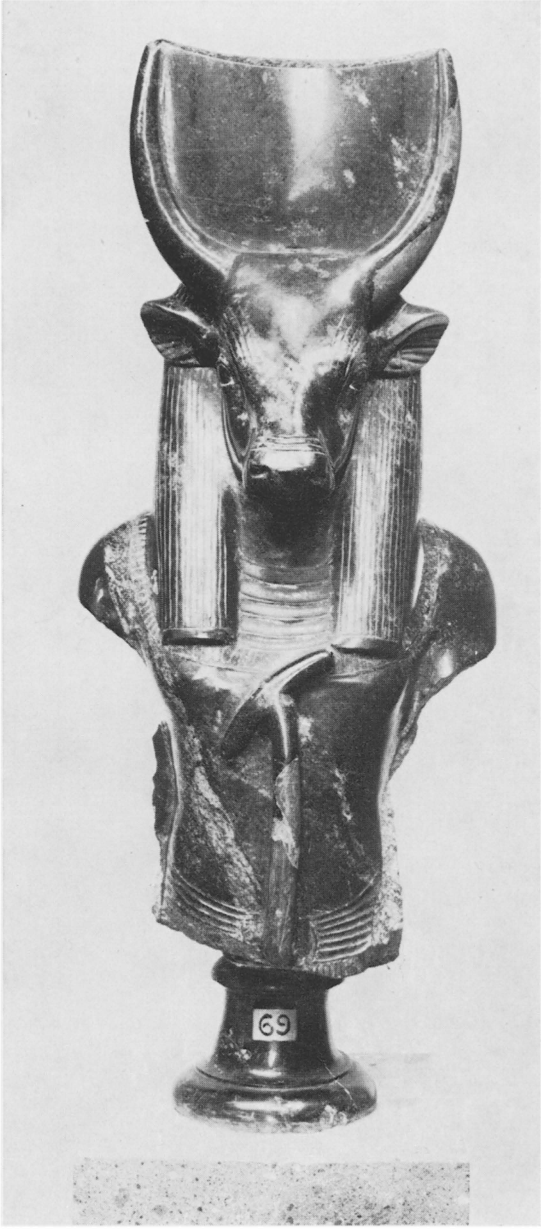
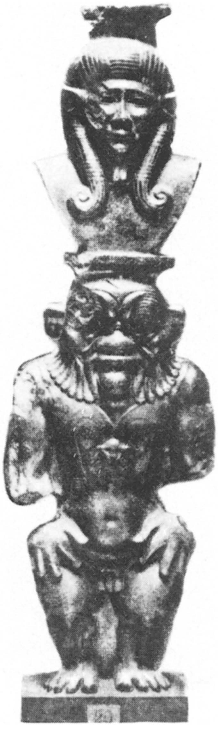
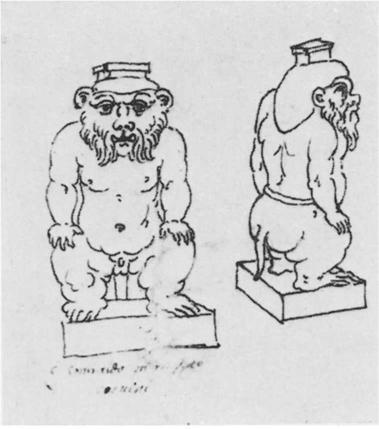


PLATE XC

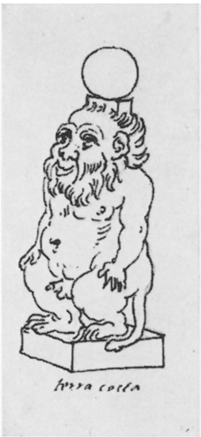




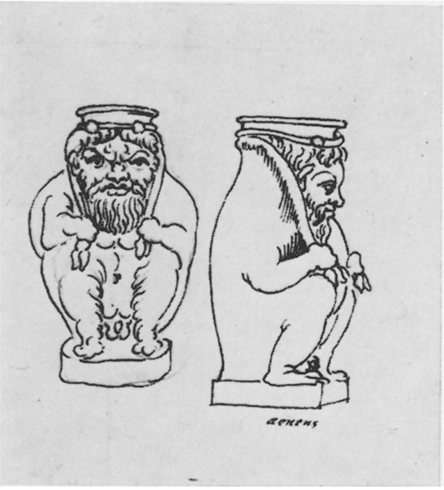
122



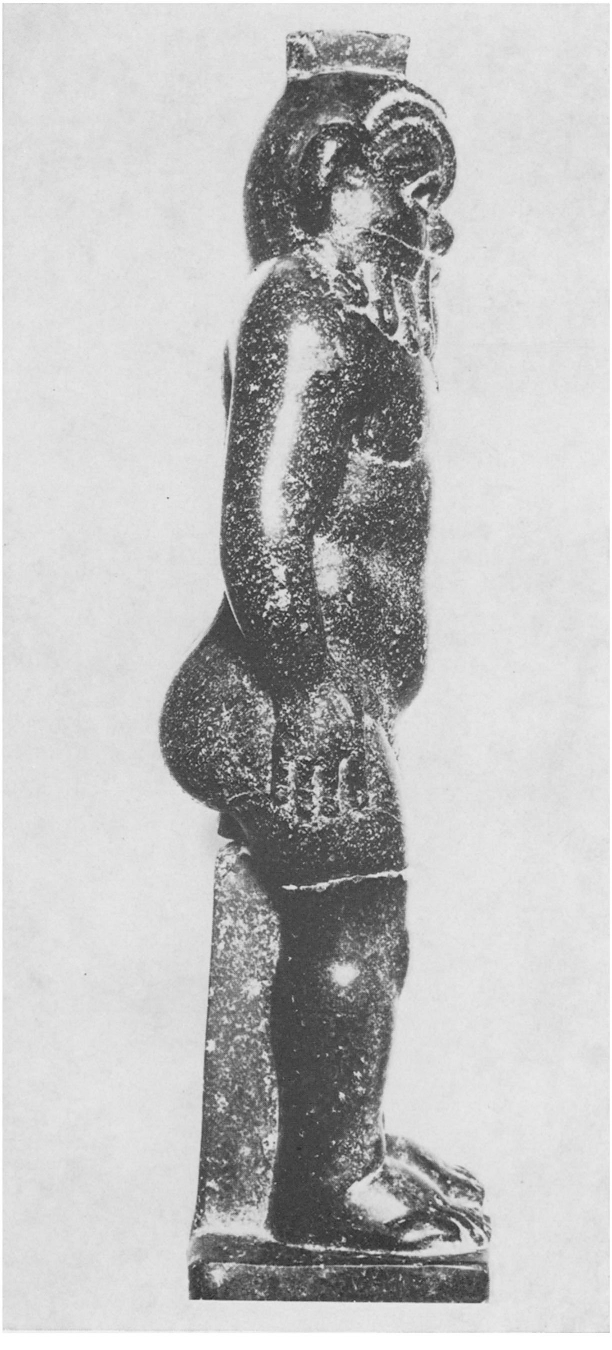
123

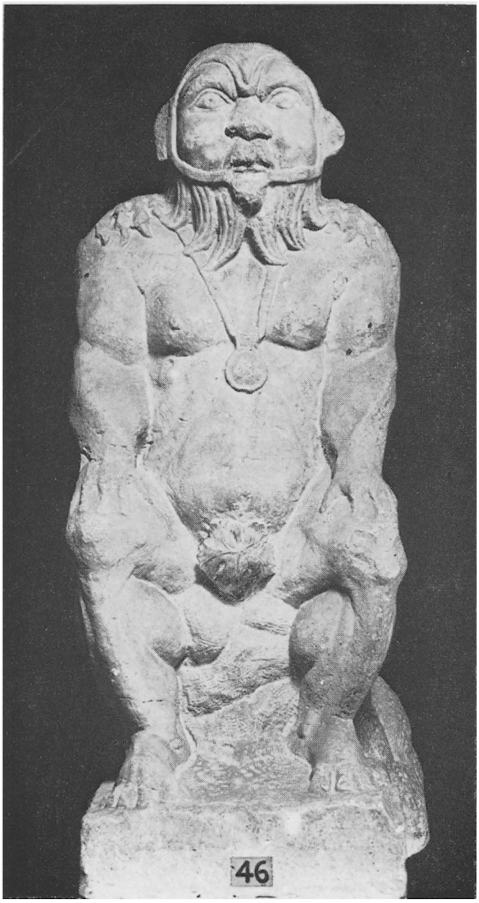

terra cotta

124

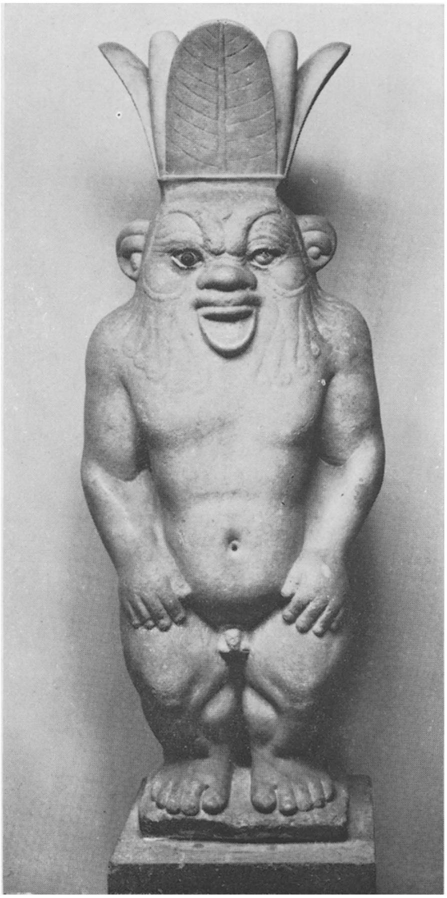


125





127



128

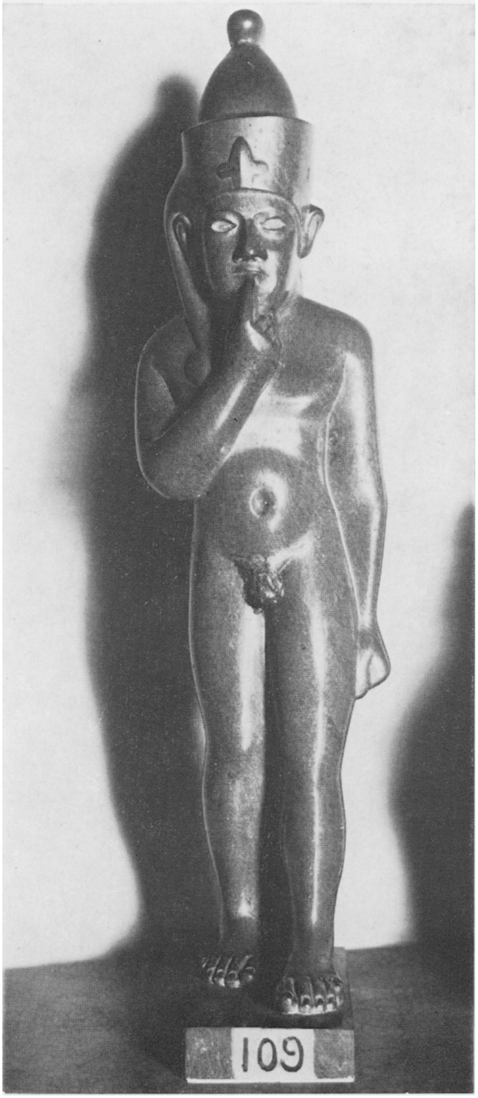
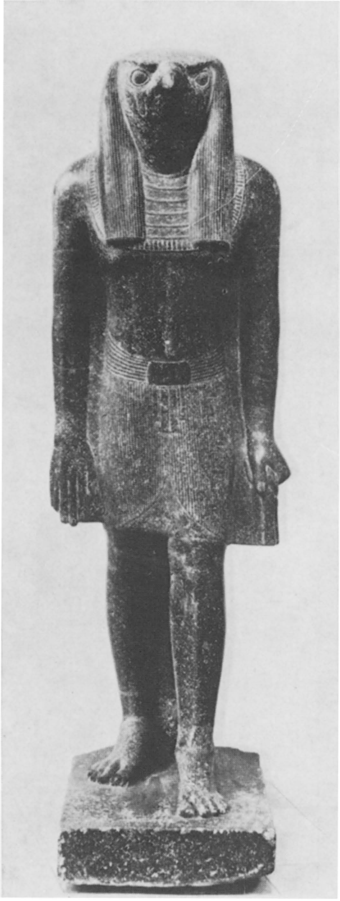
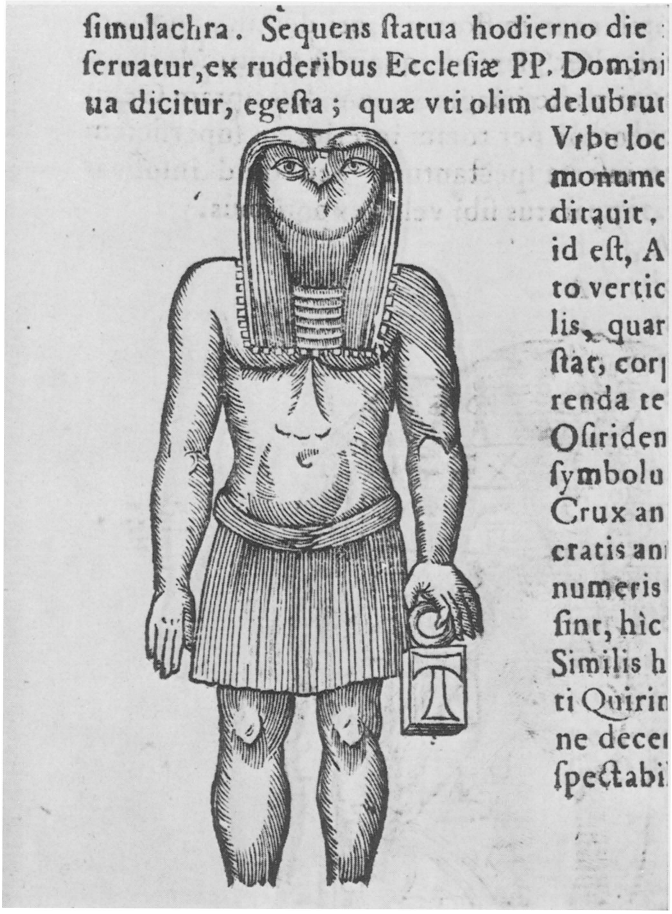


Plate XCVI

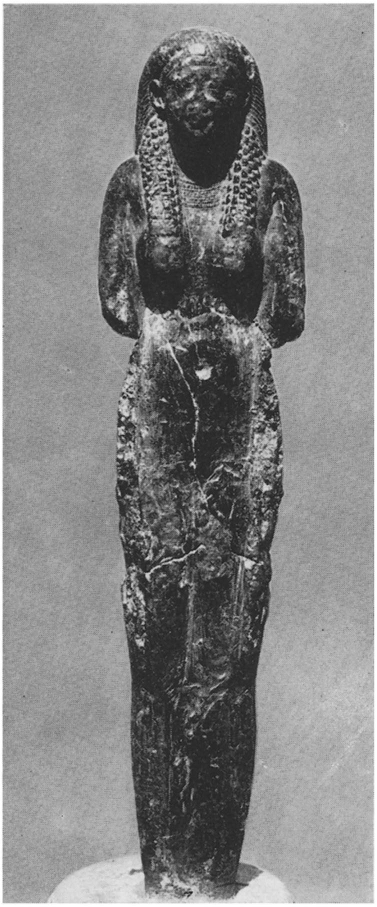


130



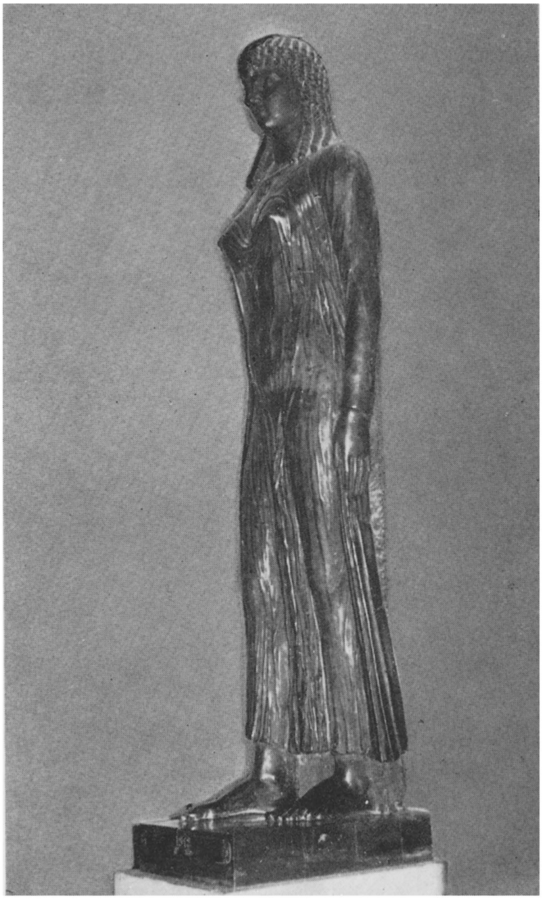
ſimulachra. Sequens ſtatua hodierno die
ſeruatur, ex ruderibus Eccleſiæ PP. Domini
ua dicitur, egeſta; quæ vti olim delubru
Vrbe loc
monume
ditauit,
id eſt, A
to vertic
lis, quar
ſtat, cor
renda te
Oſiriden
ſymbolu
Crux an
cratis an
numeris
ſint, hic
Similis h
ti Quirin
ne dece
ſpectabi

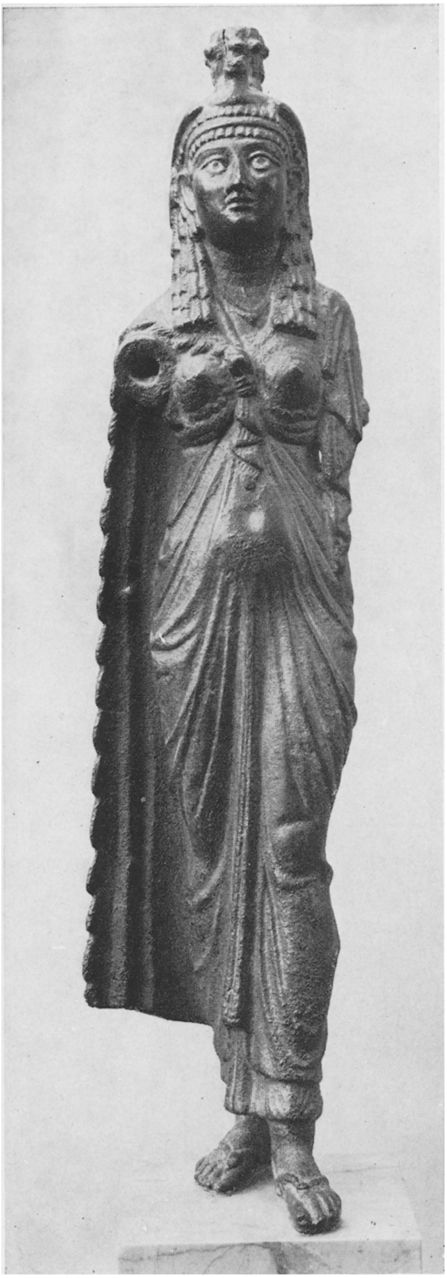
131



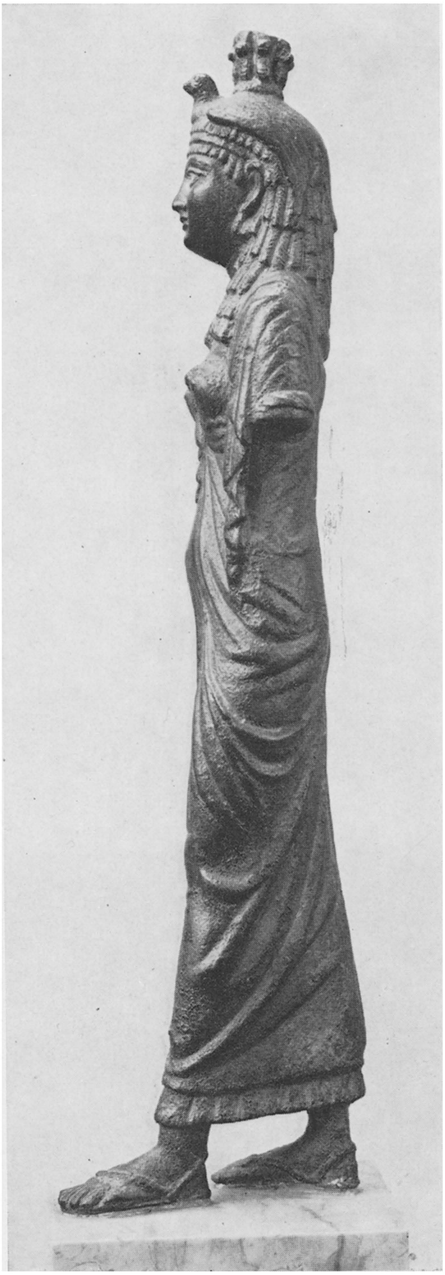
132

PLATE XCVIII



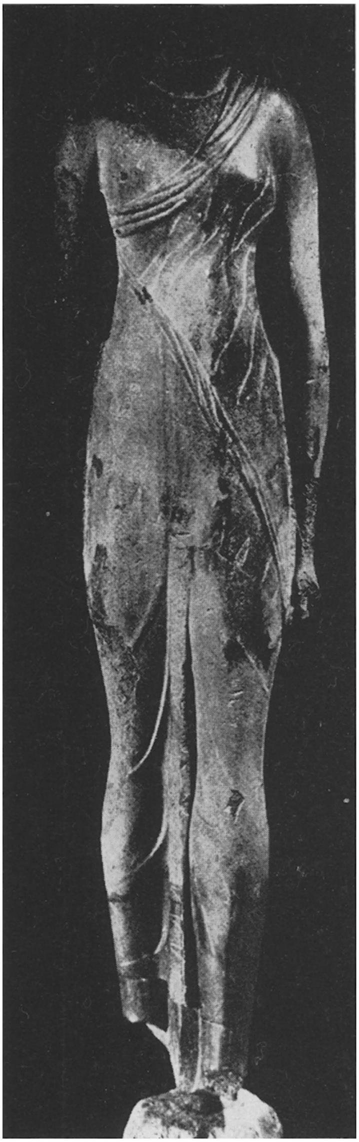


134



135

Plate C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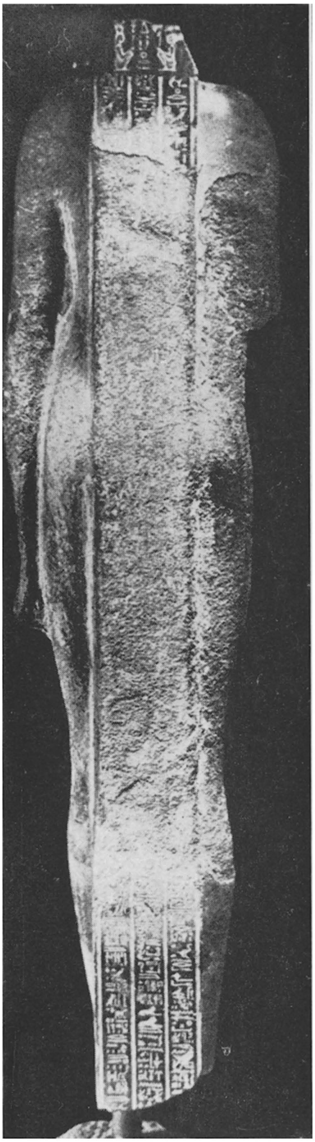
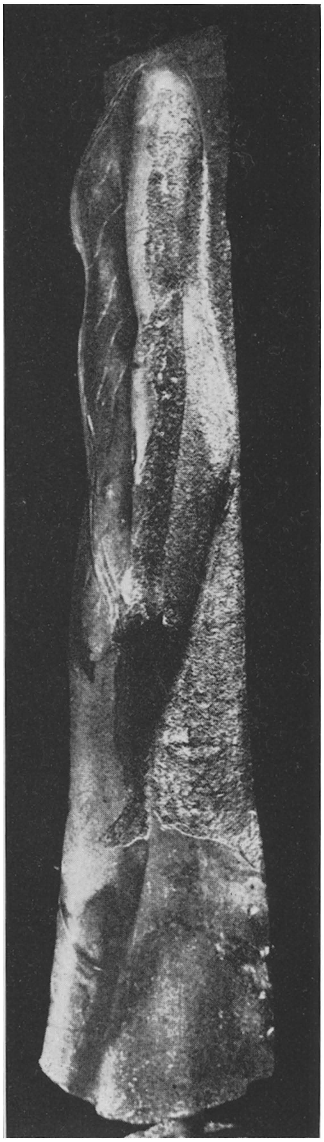

137


138

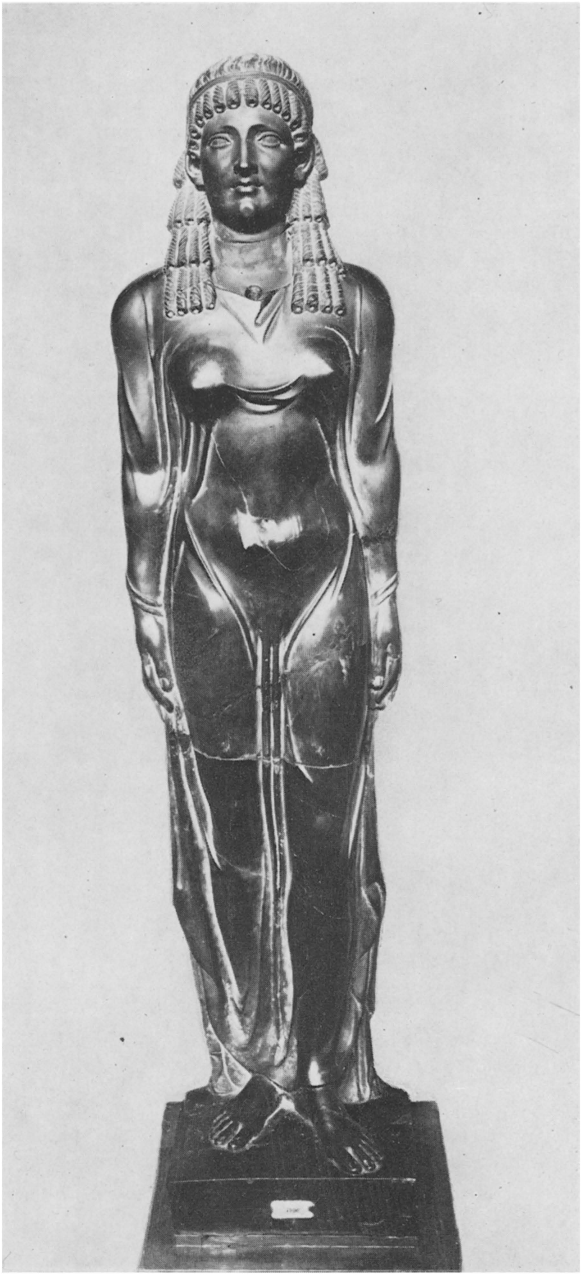
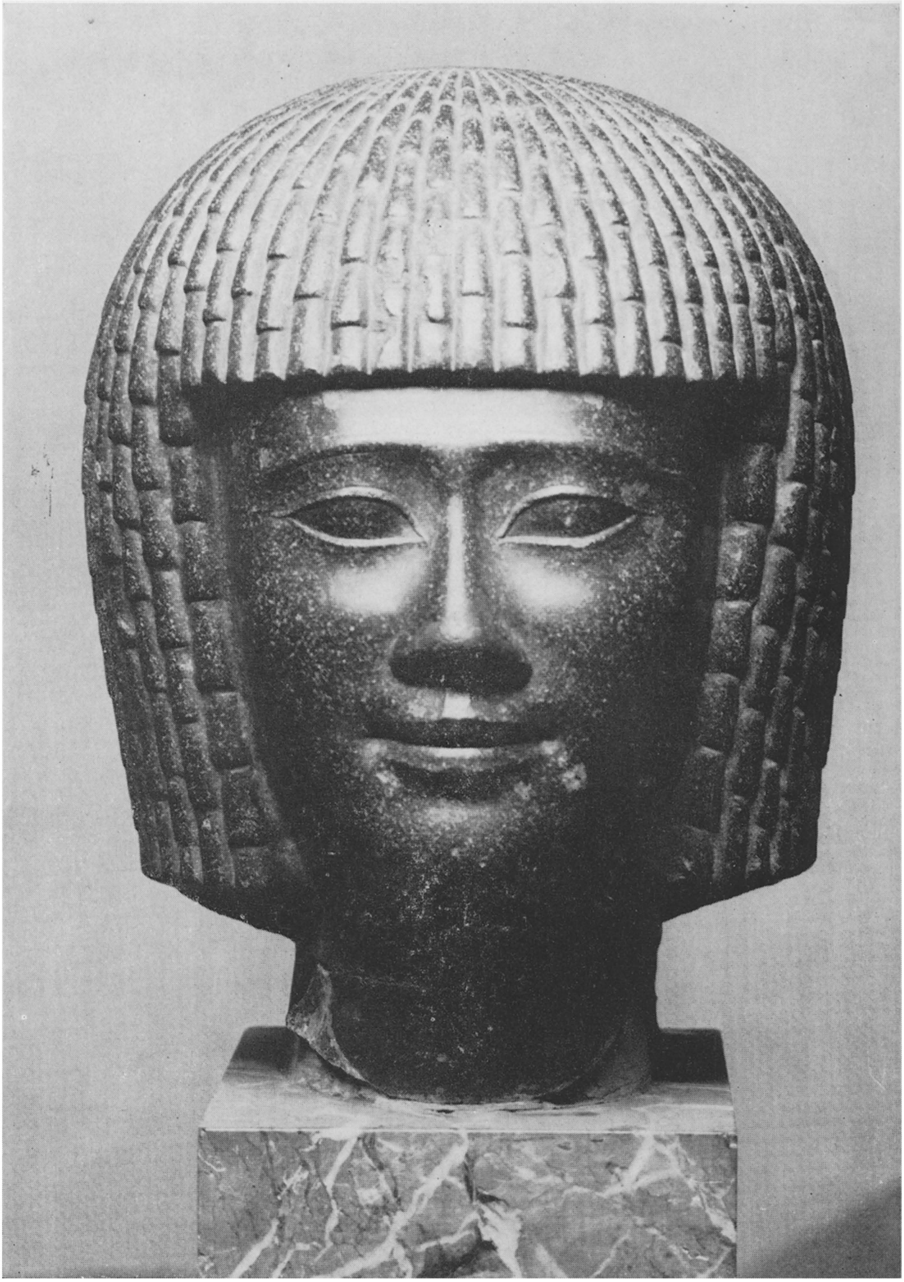


PLATE CII



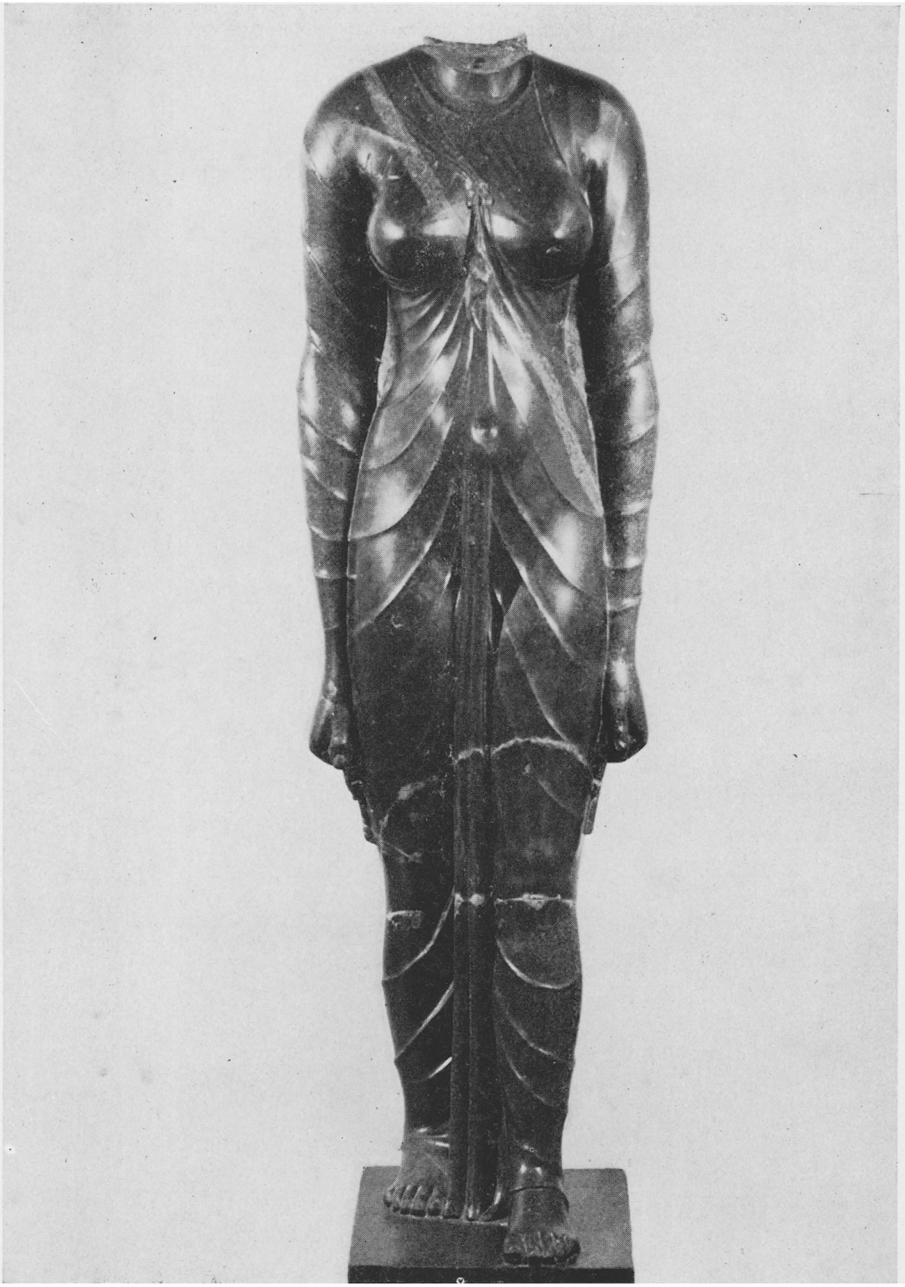
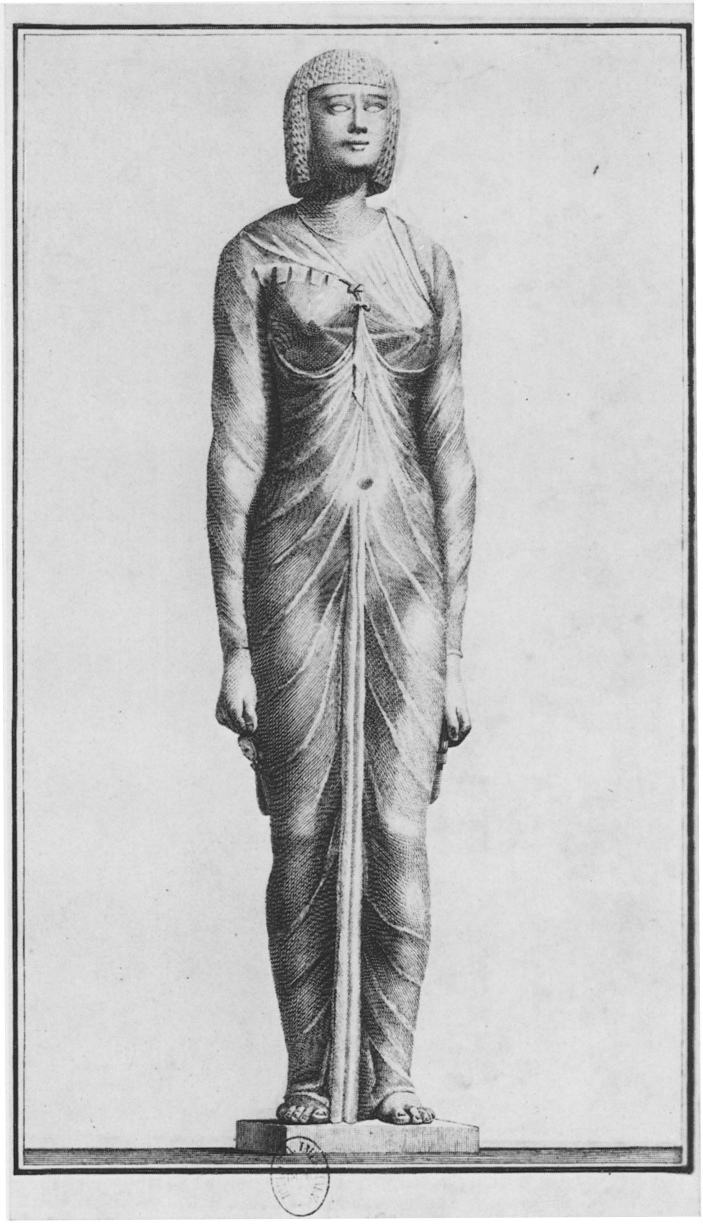


Plate CIV



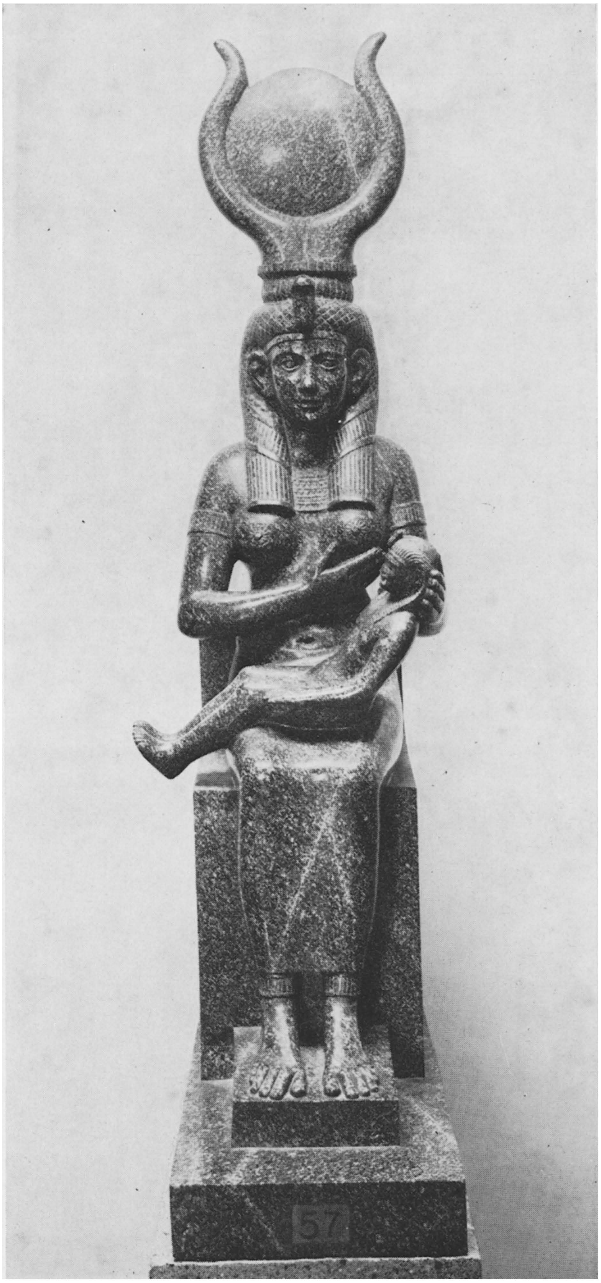

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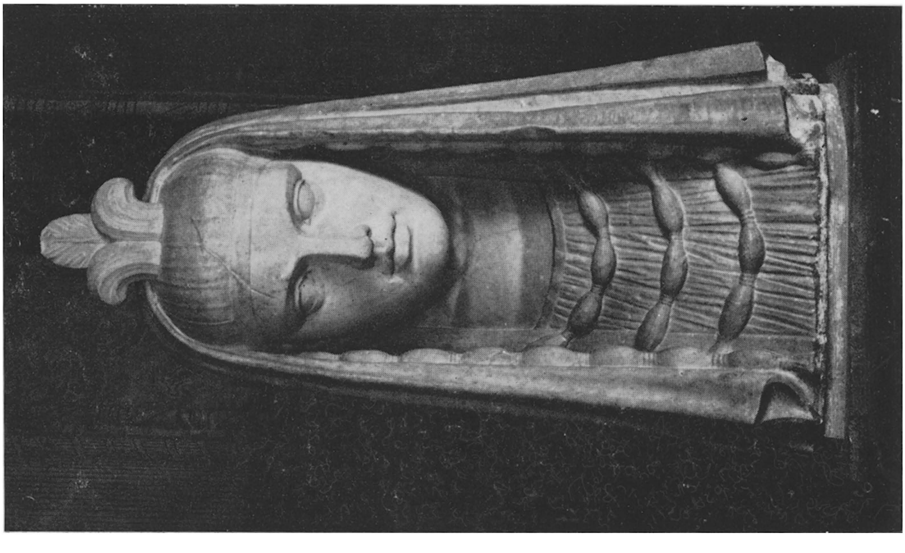
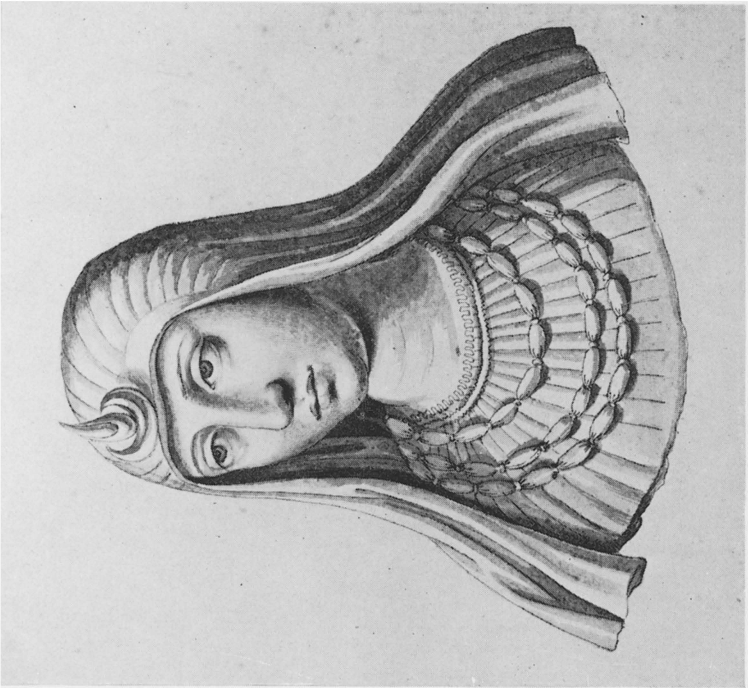
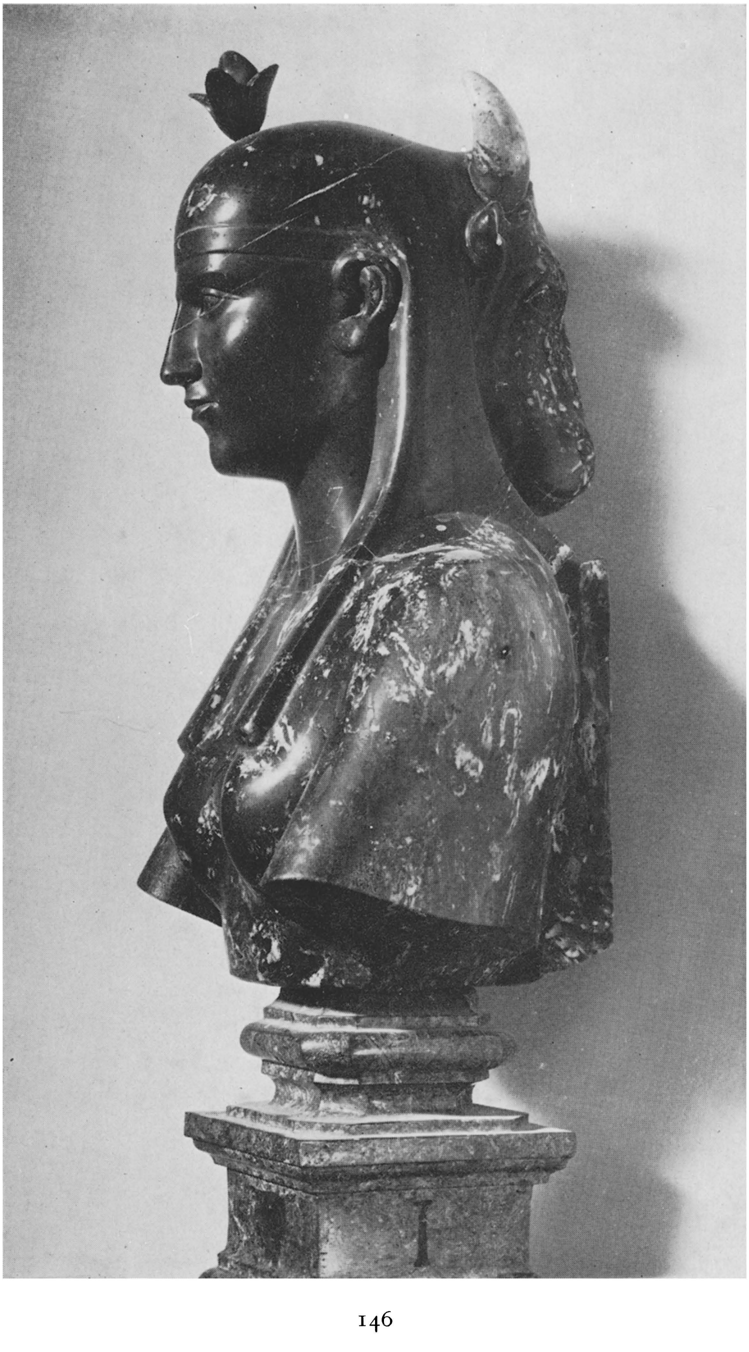
Plate CVI

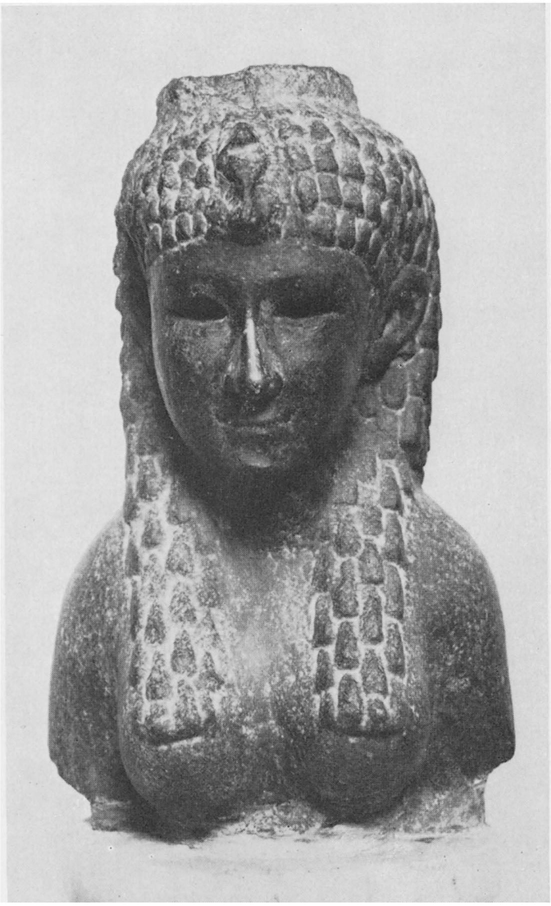


144



145

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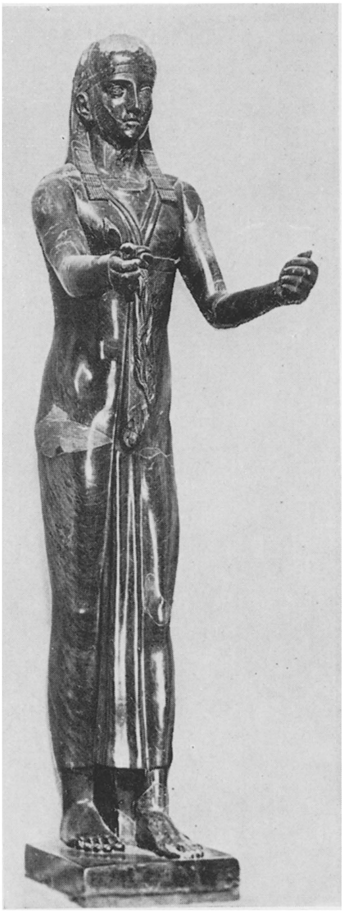
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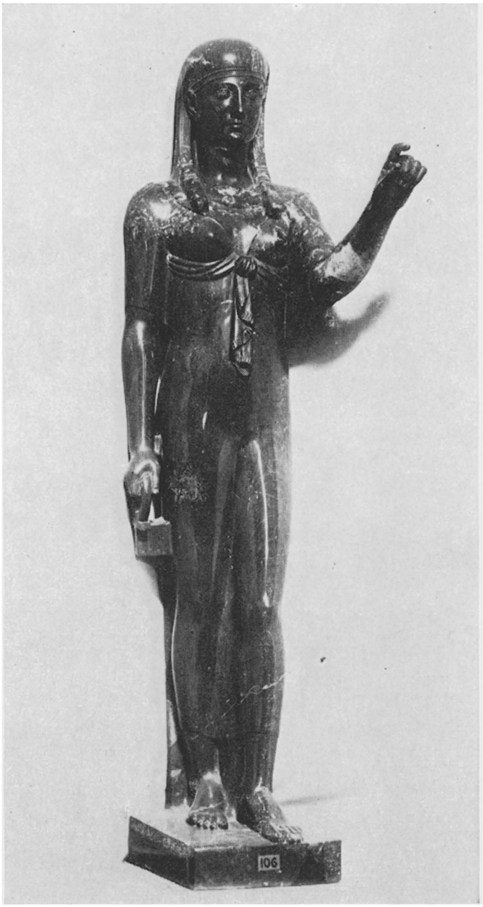

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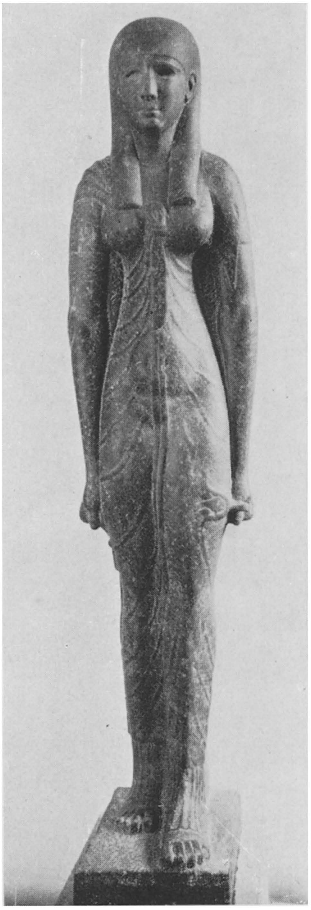
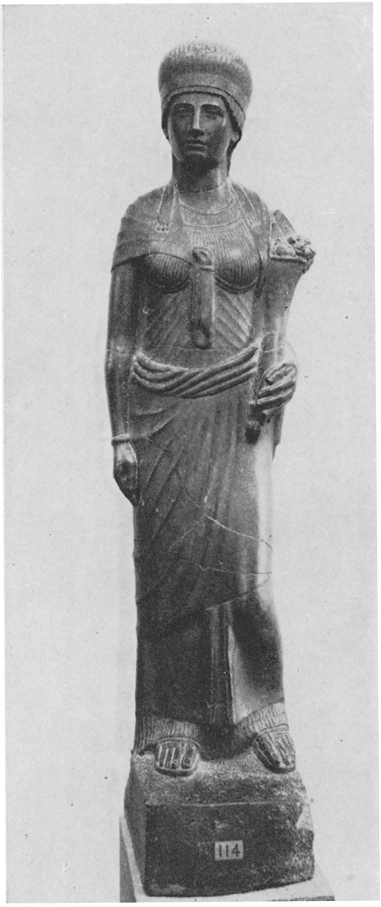


150

Plate CX



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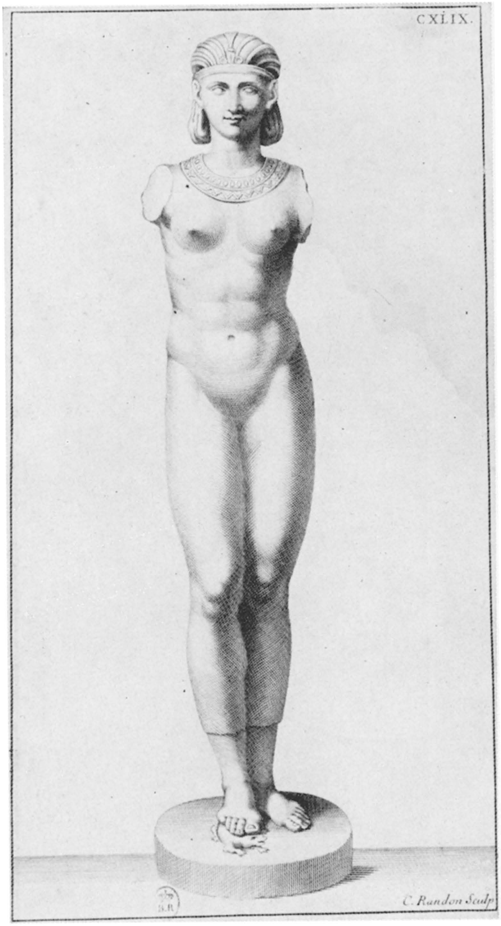
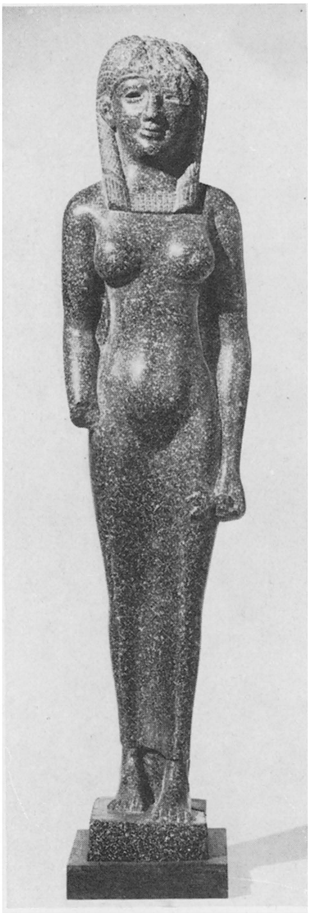

CXLIX.
C. Randon Sculp.

152



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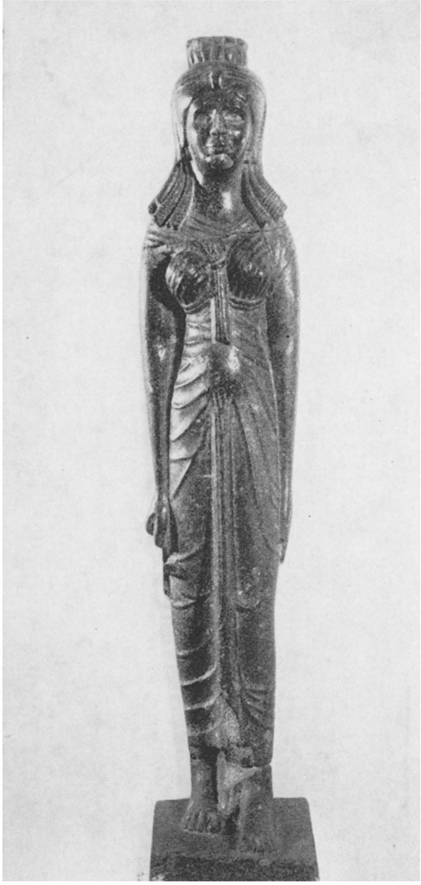

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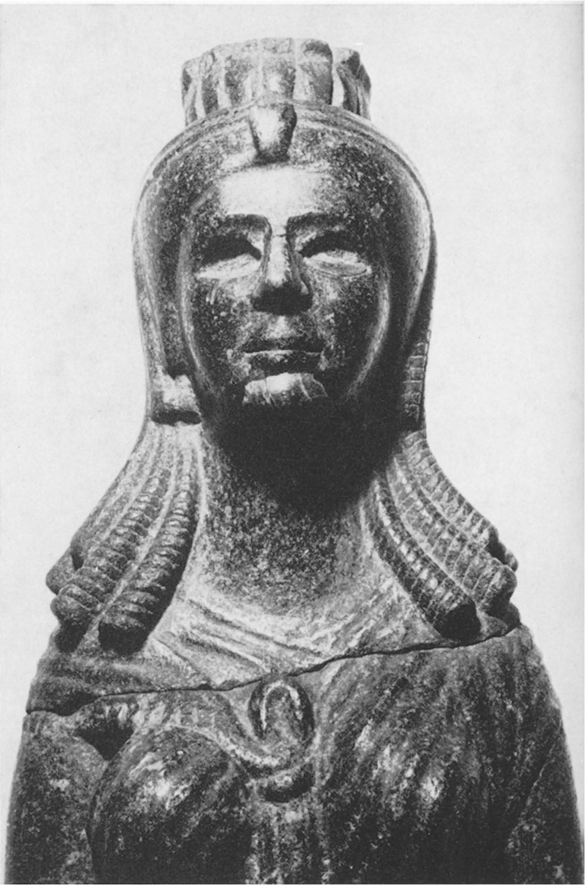

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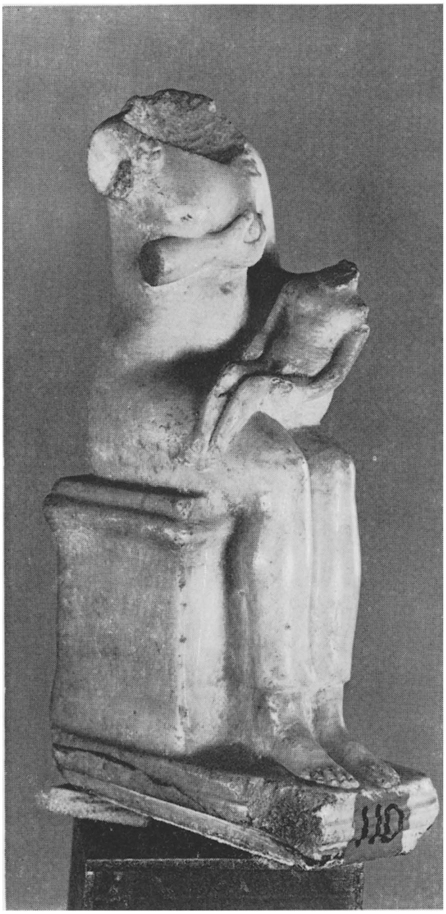

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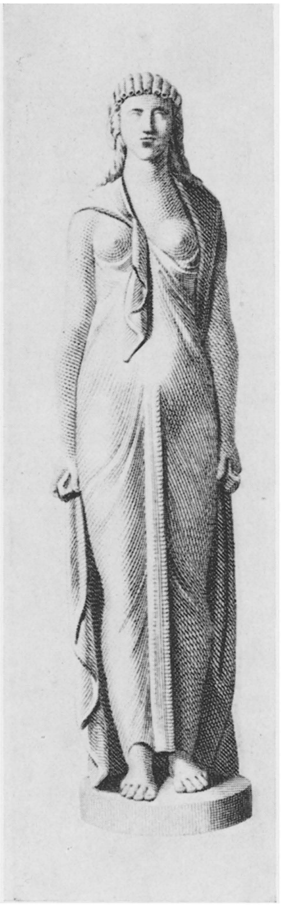
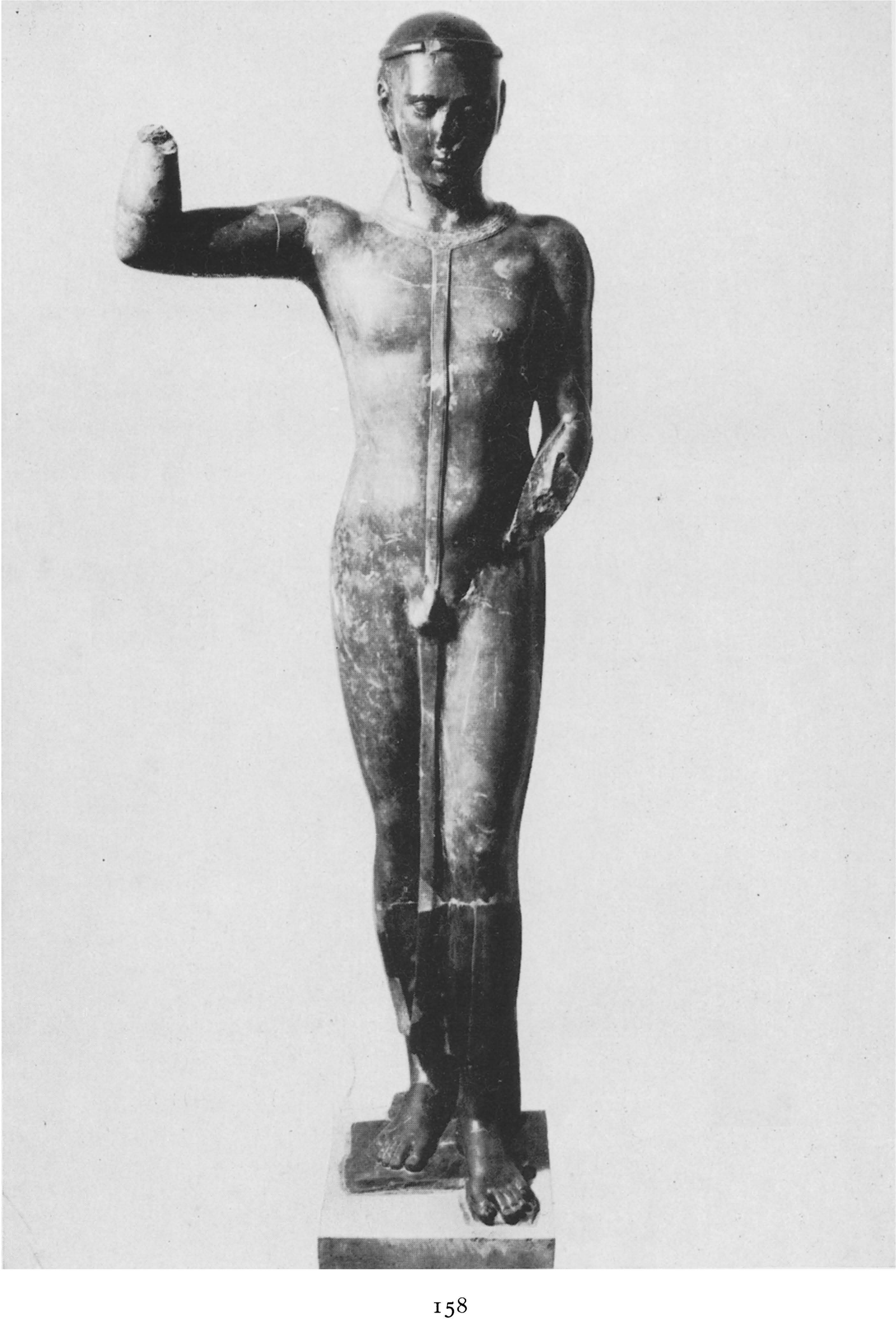


157

PLATE CXIV



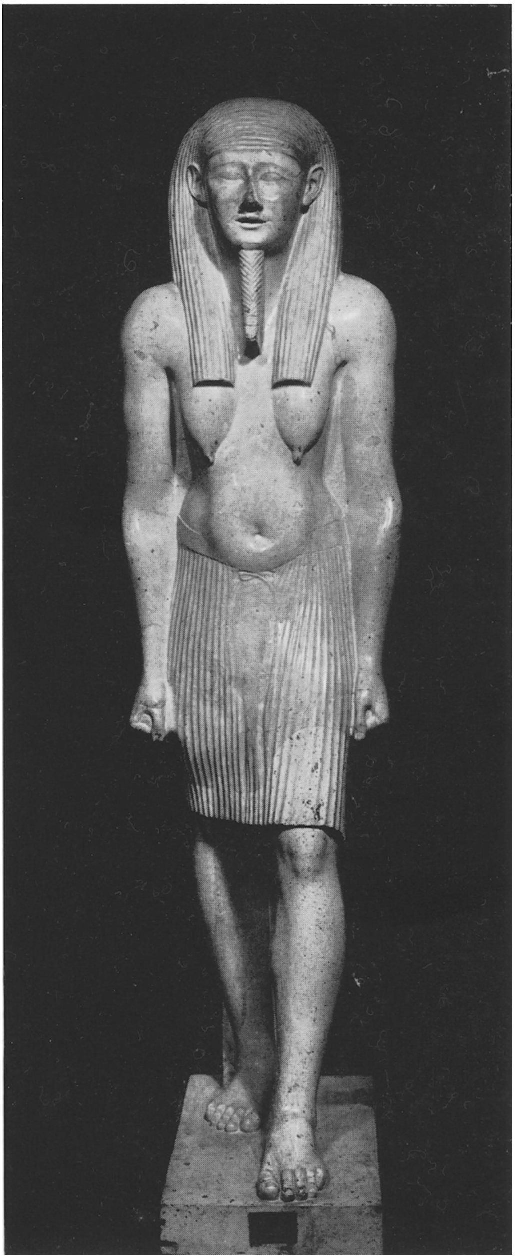
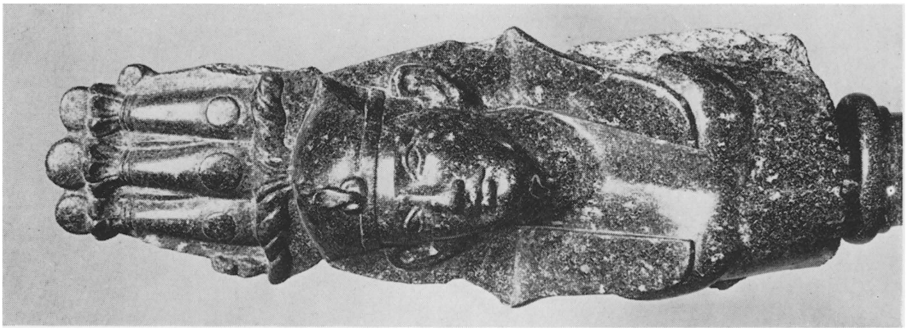


PLATE CXVI



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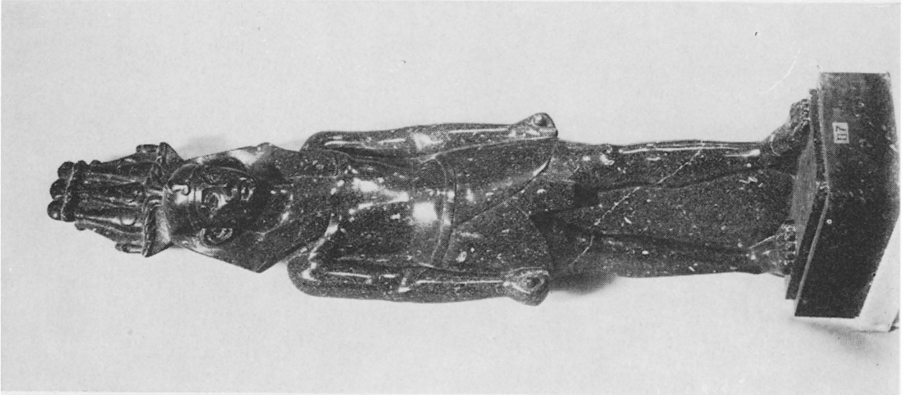

161

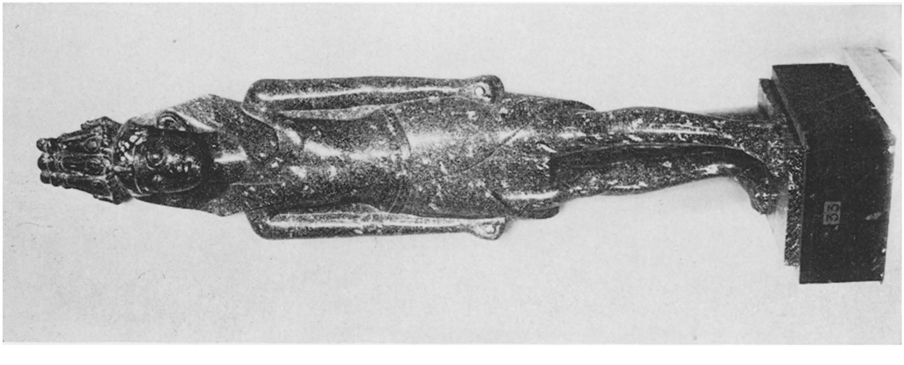

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PLATE CXVII

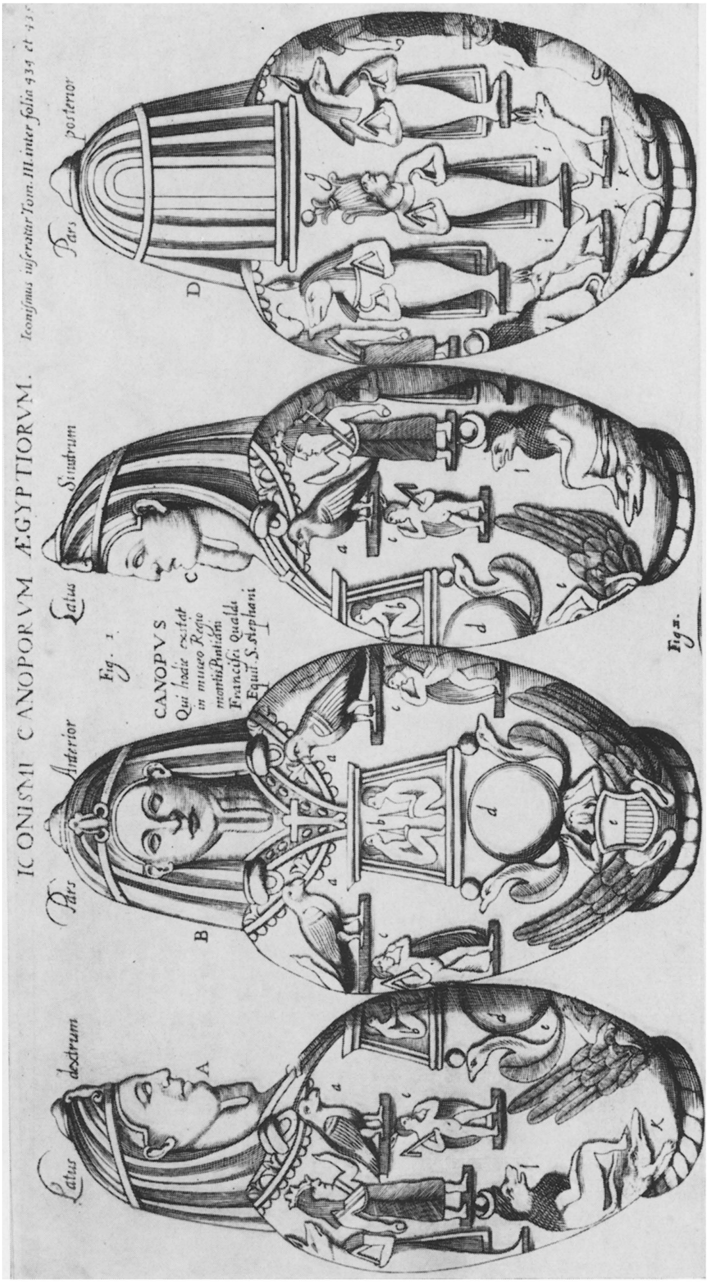
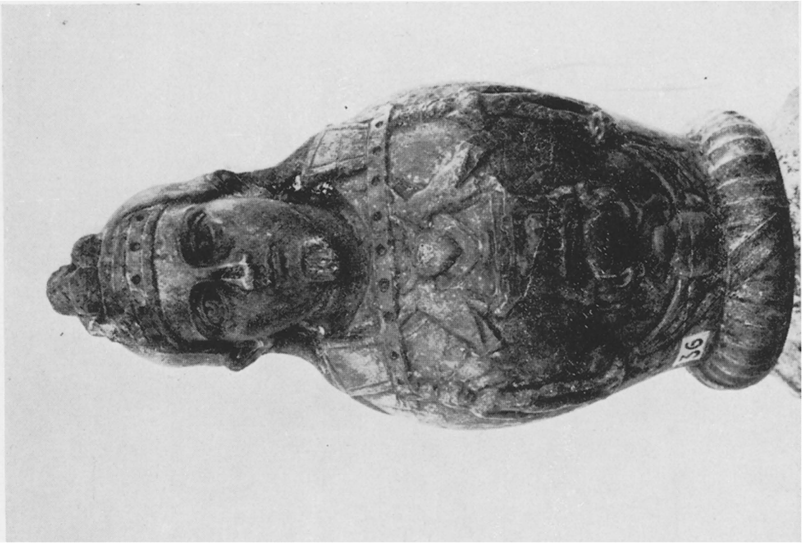

ICONISMI CANOPORVM ÆGYPTIORVM.
Iconismus inseratur Tom. III. inter folia 434 et 435
Latus dextrum
A
Pars Anterior
B
Fig. 1
CANOPVS
Qui hodie exstat
in museo Regio
montis Pintiani
Francisci Gualdi
Equit. S. Stephani
Latus Sinistrum
C
Pars posterior
D
Fig. 2
a
b
c
d
e
i
k

Plate CXVIII



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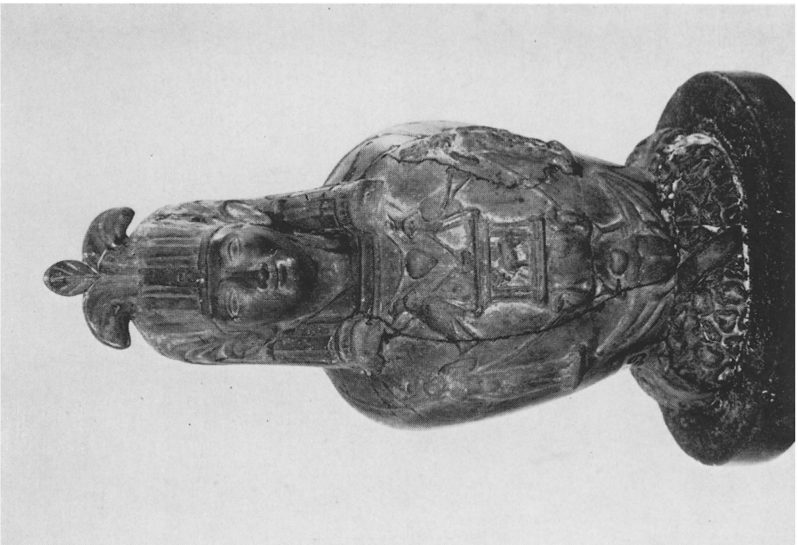

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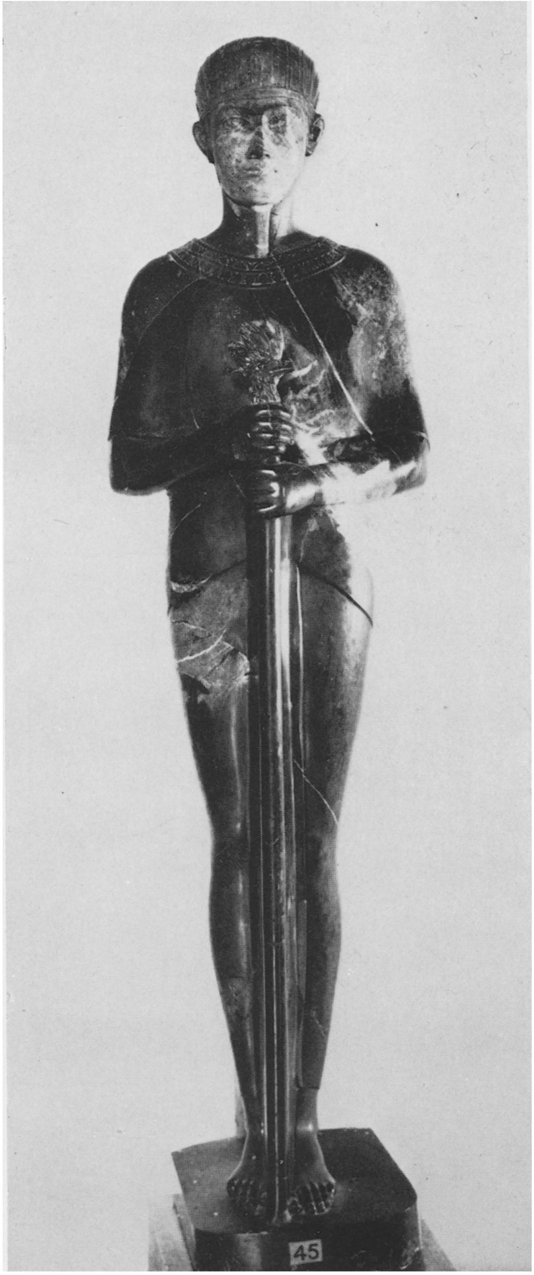
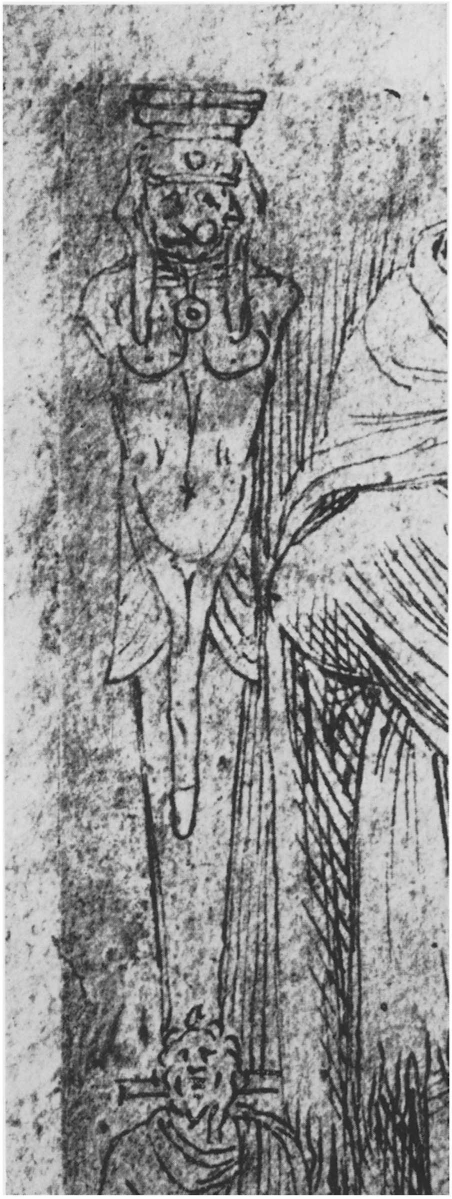

45

PLATE CXX



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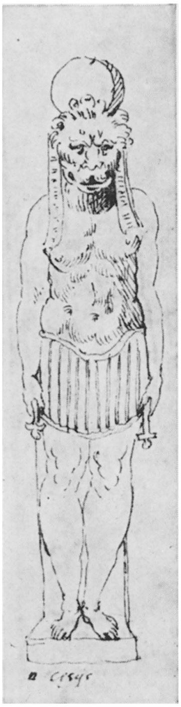
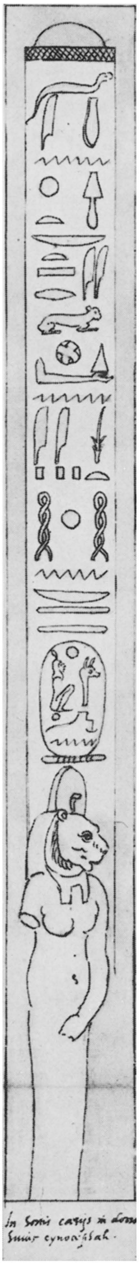
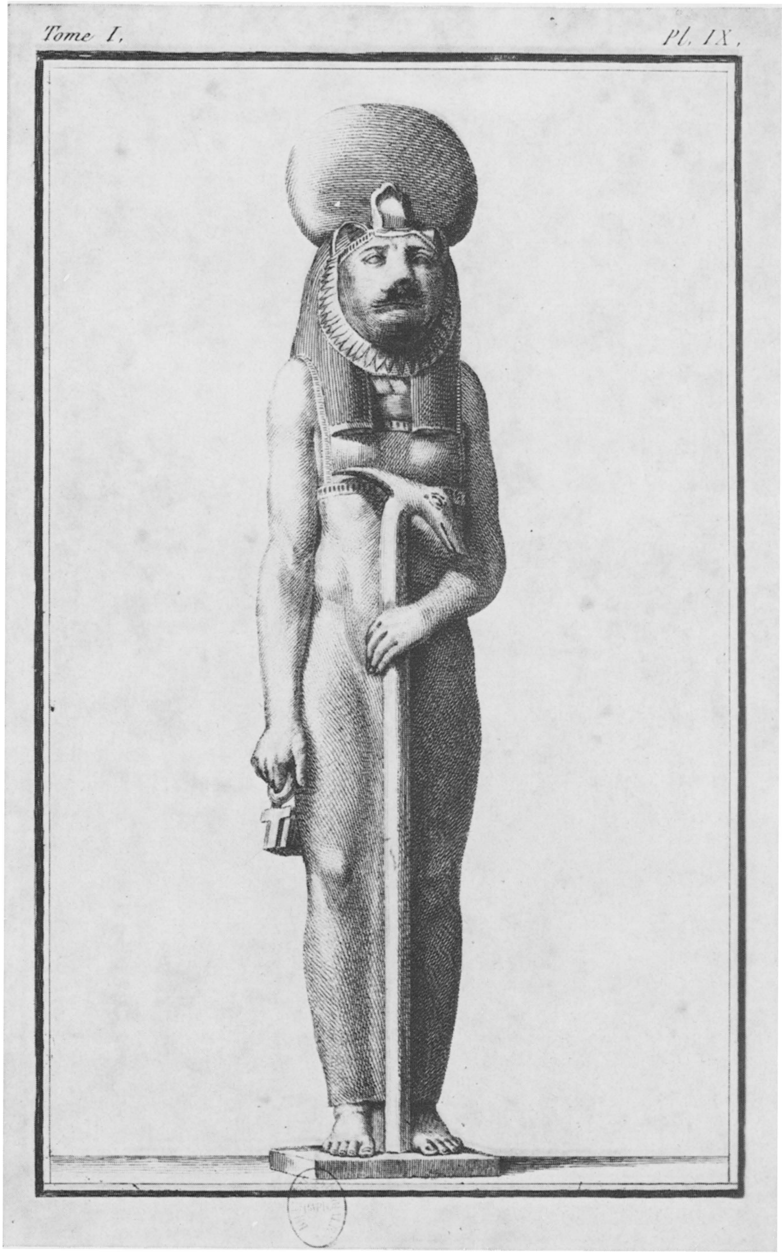


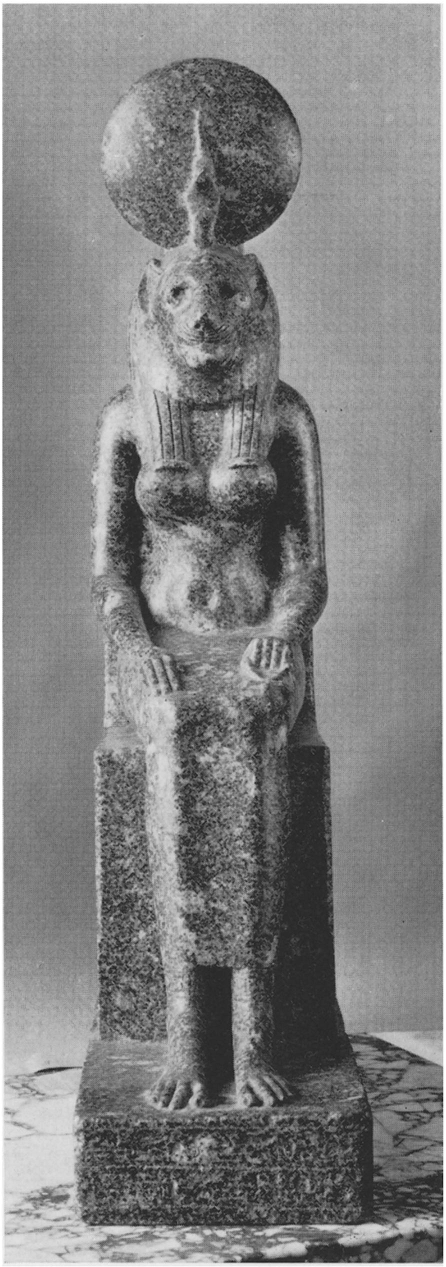
168


In Sonis casys in domo
Suiar cynocifalah.

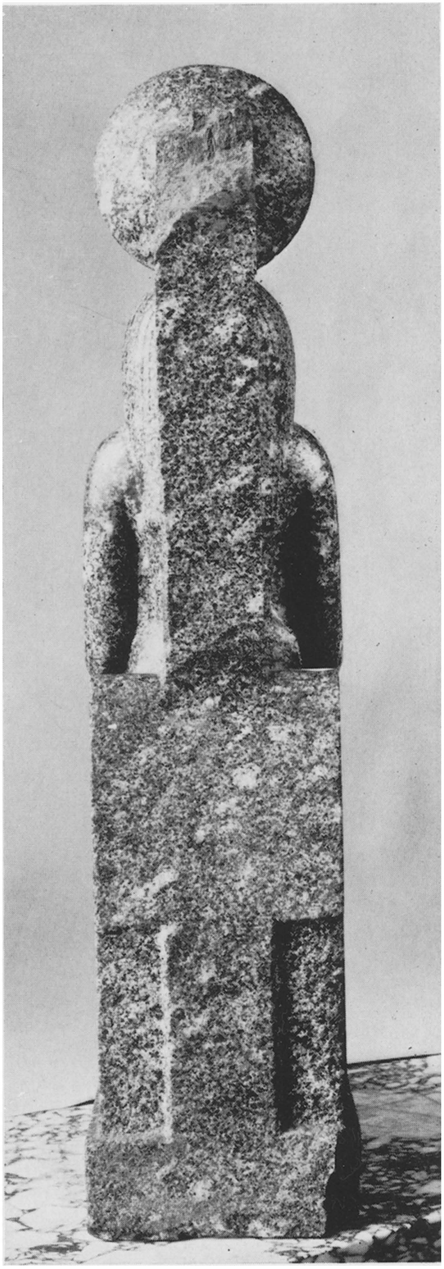
169

PLATE CXXI



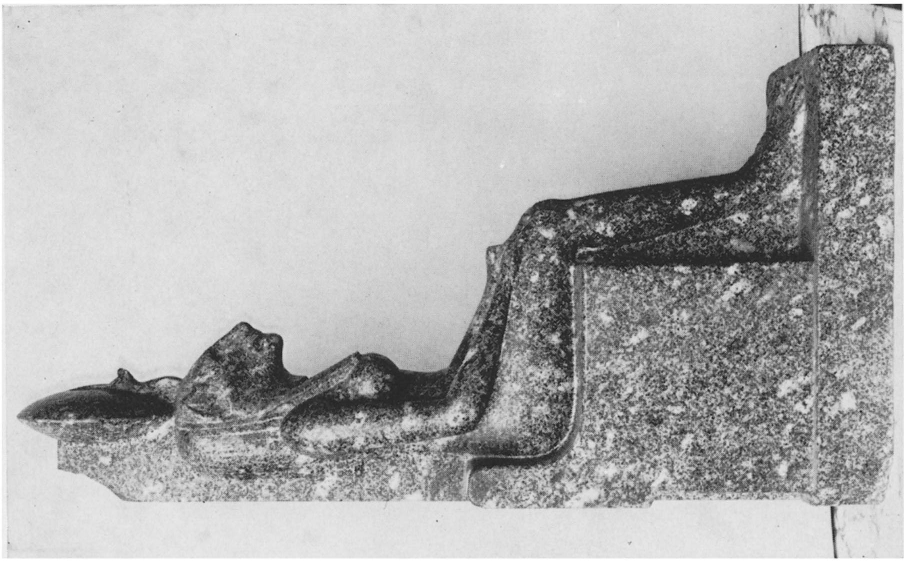


171



172

PLATE CXXIII



174

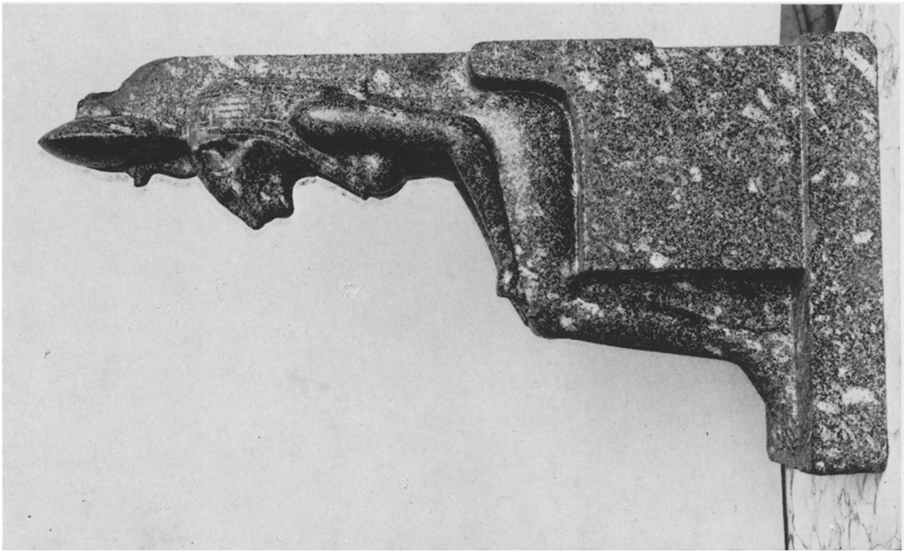


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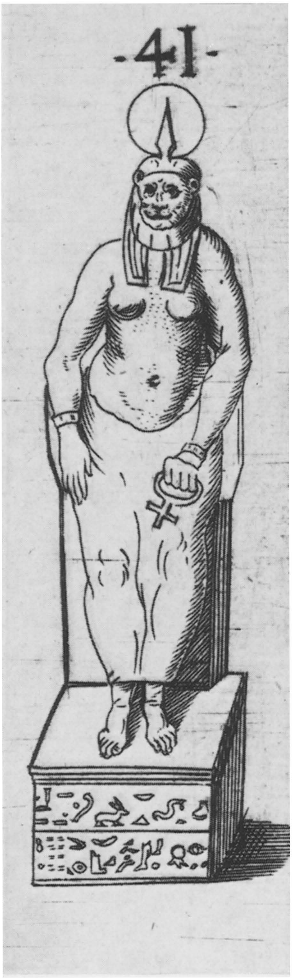
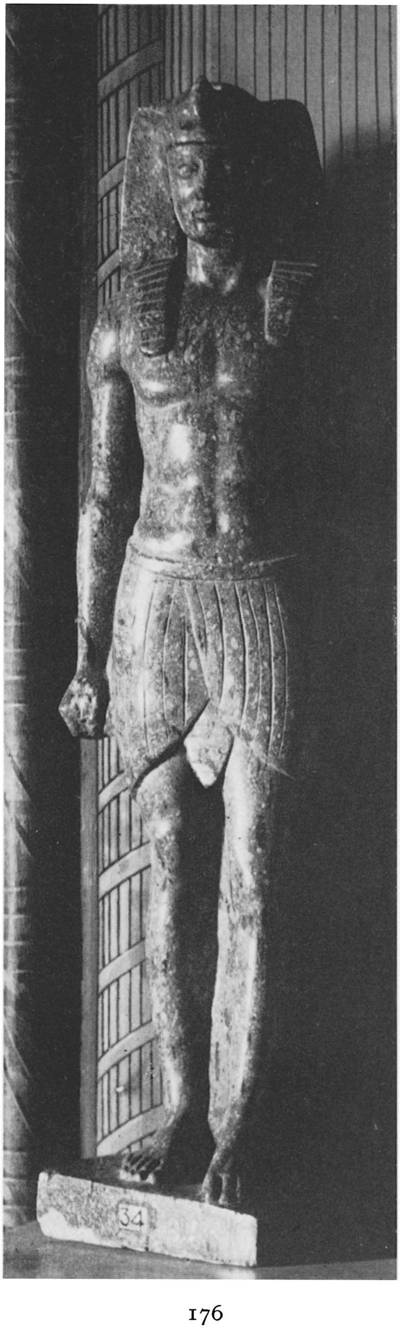
PLATE CXXIV





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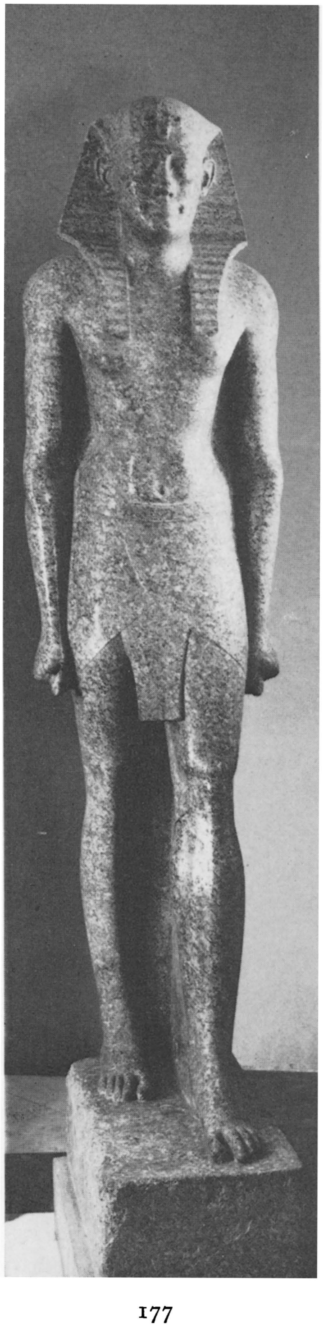

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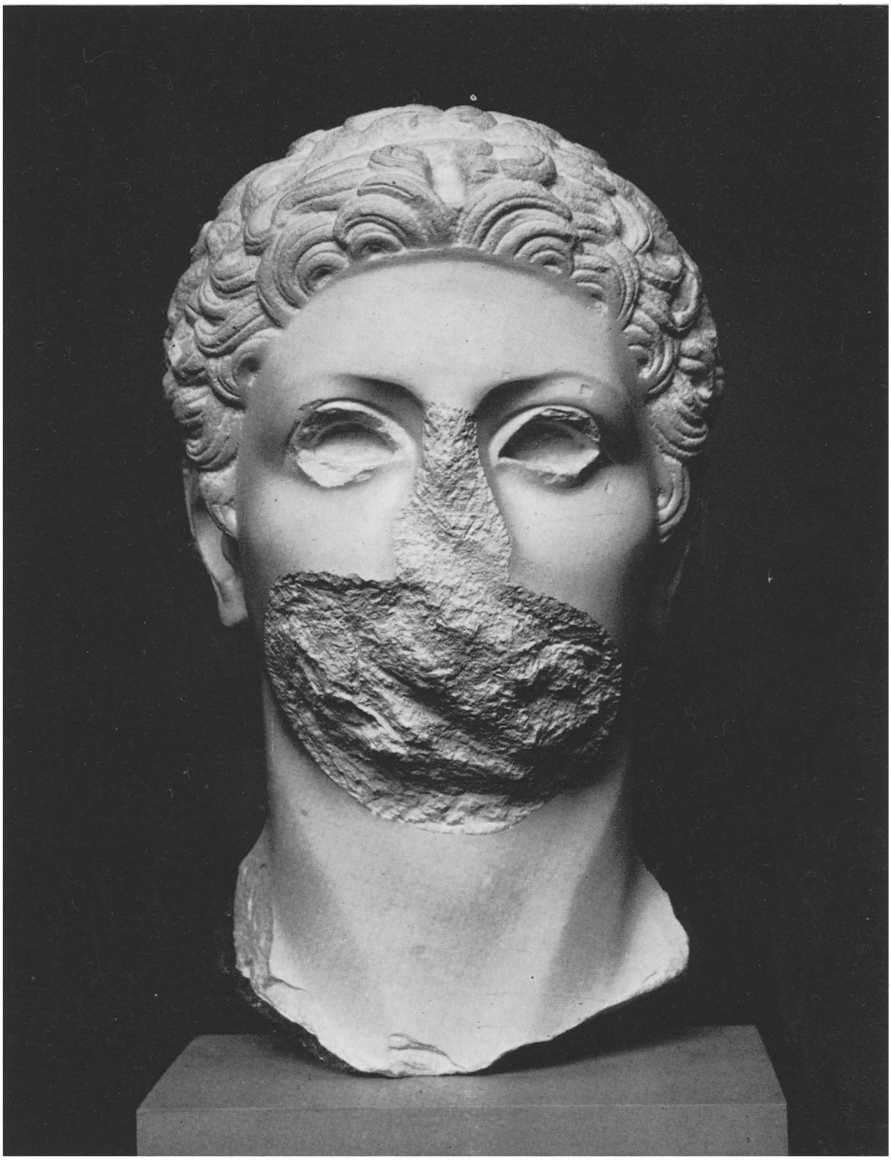
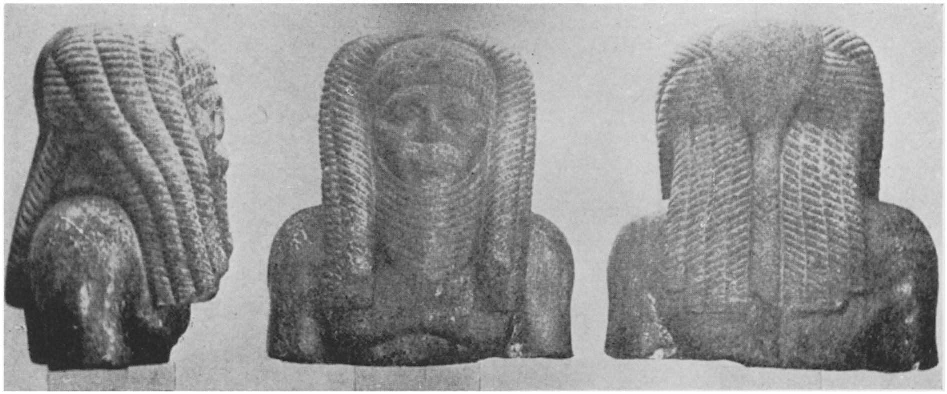
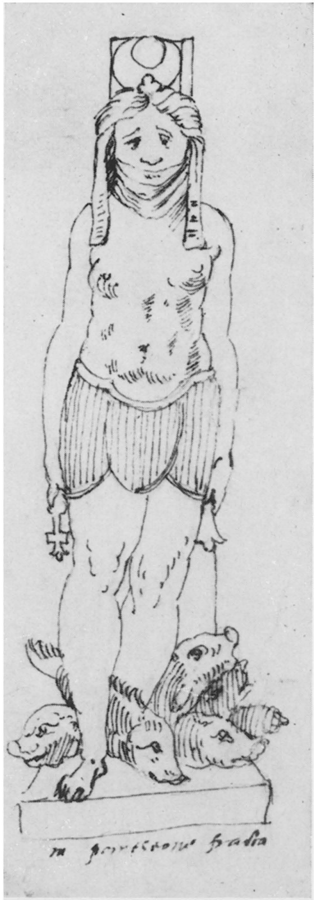


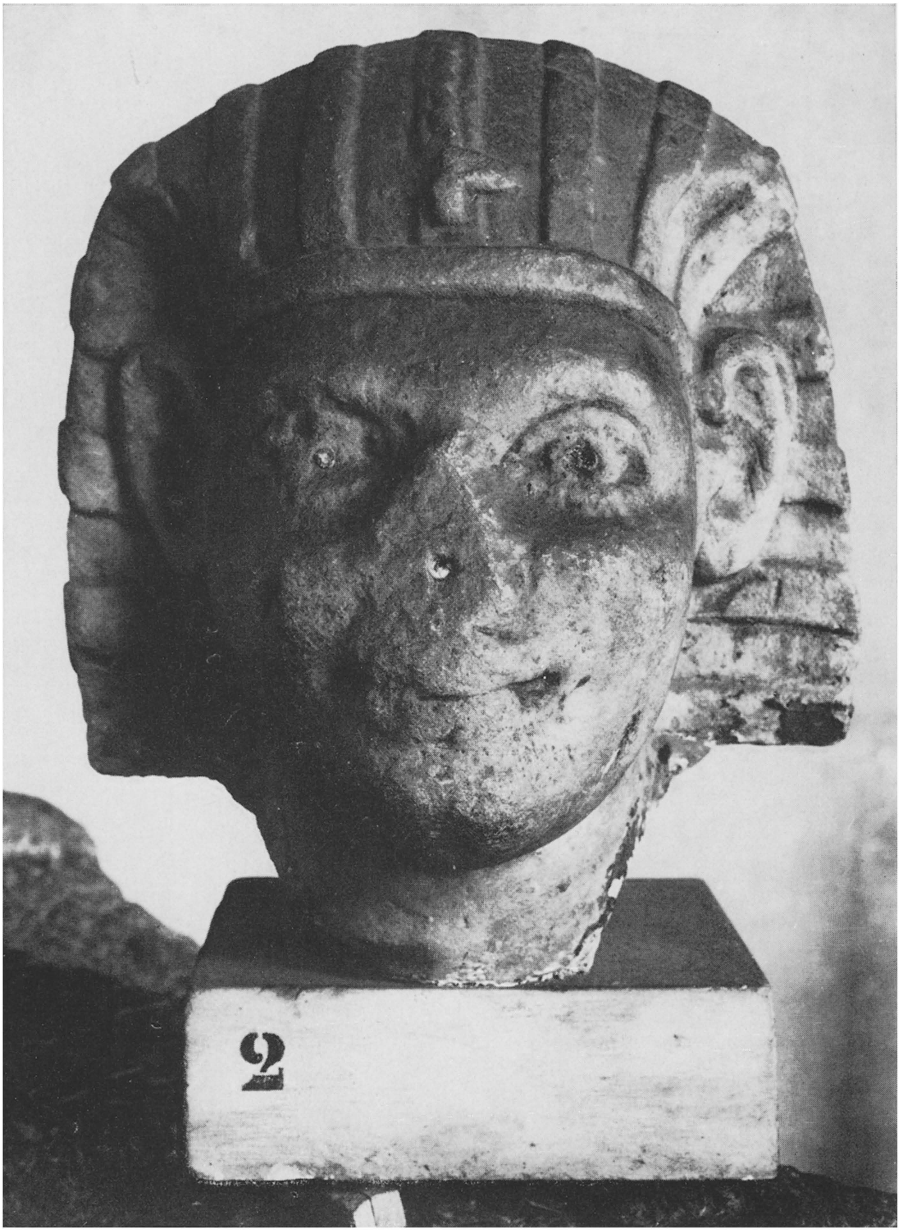


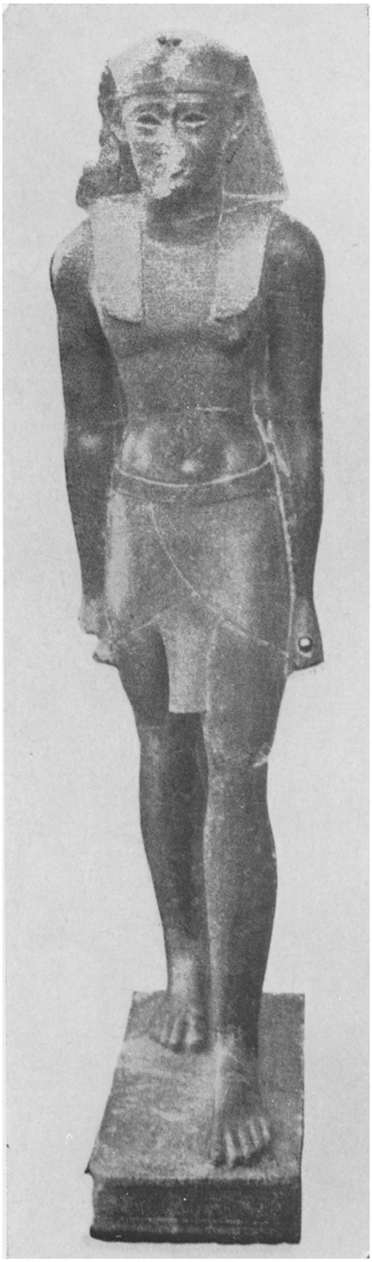
179

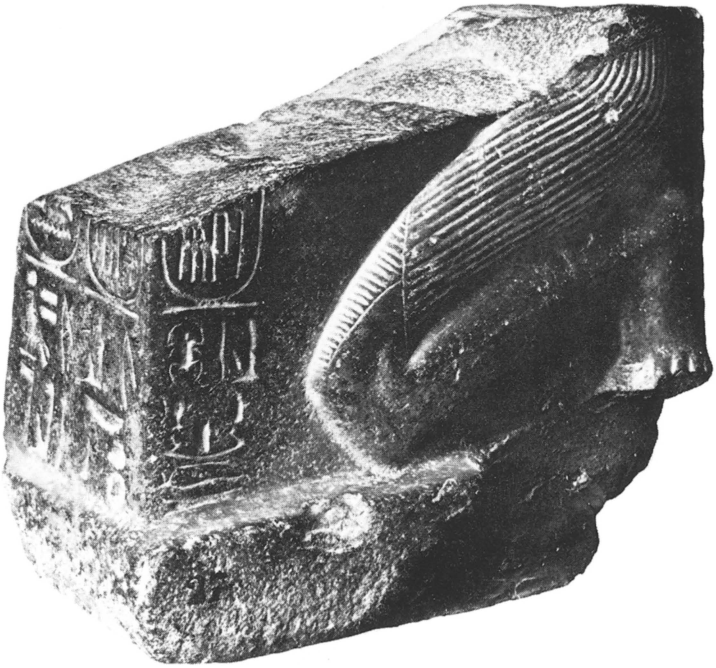

m porfirone fradia

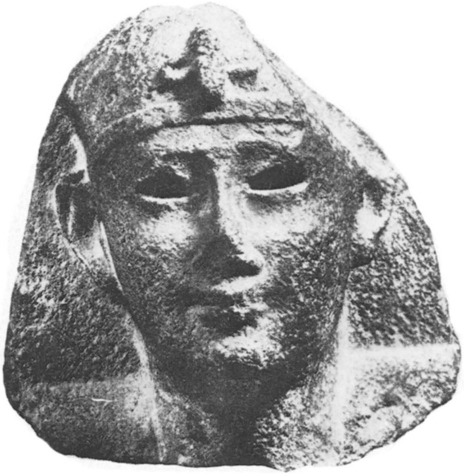
180

PLATE CXXVIII



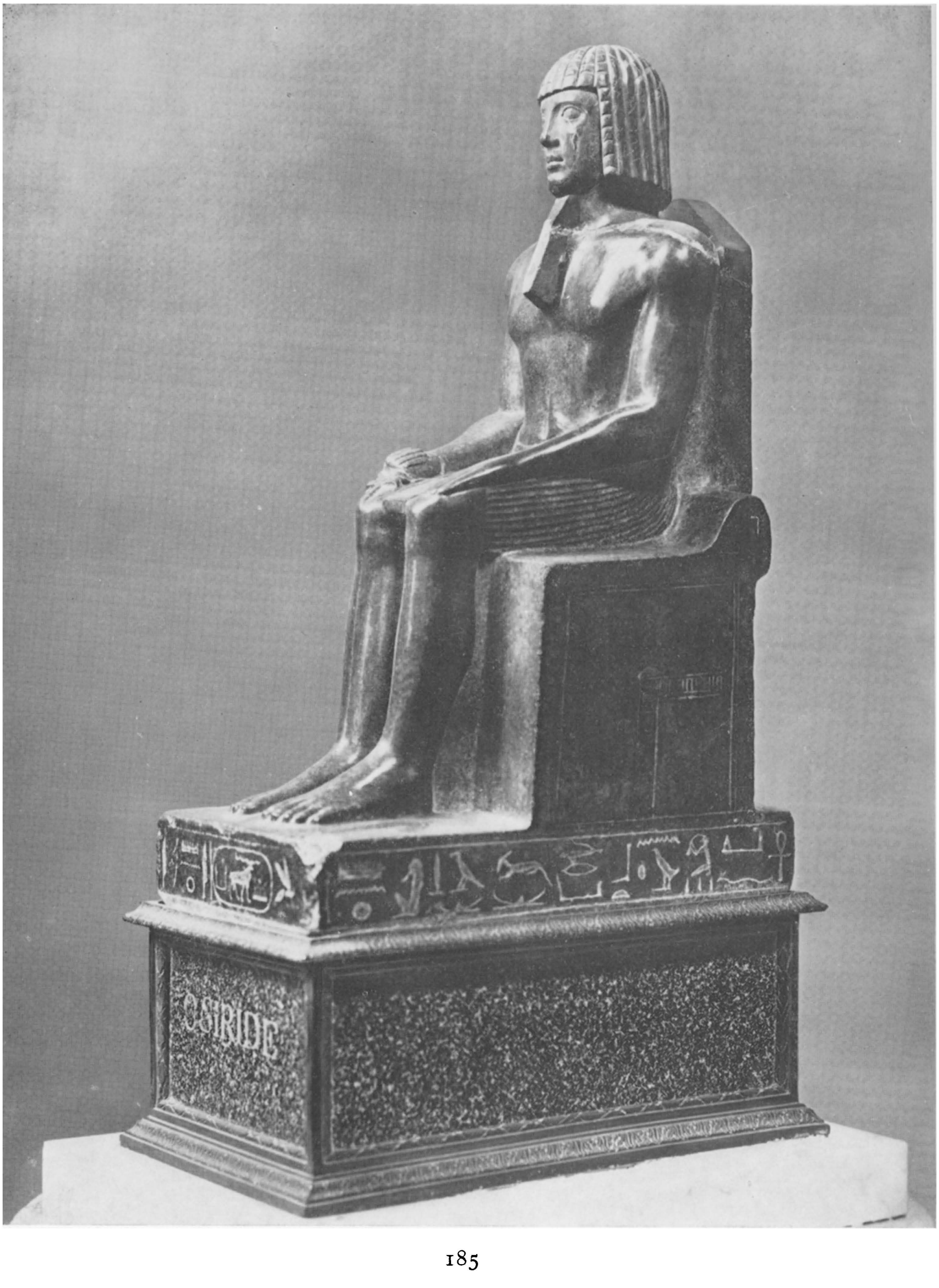


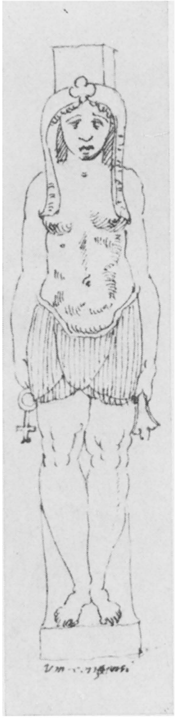




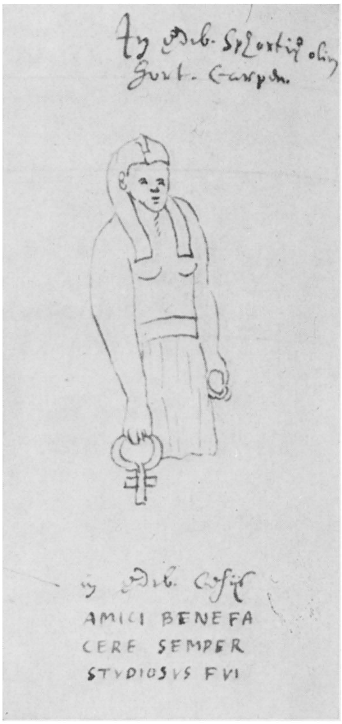
184

Plate CXXXII





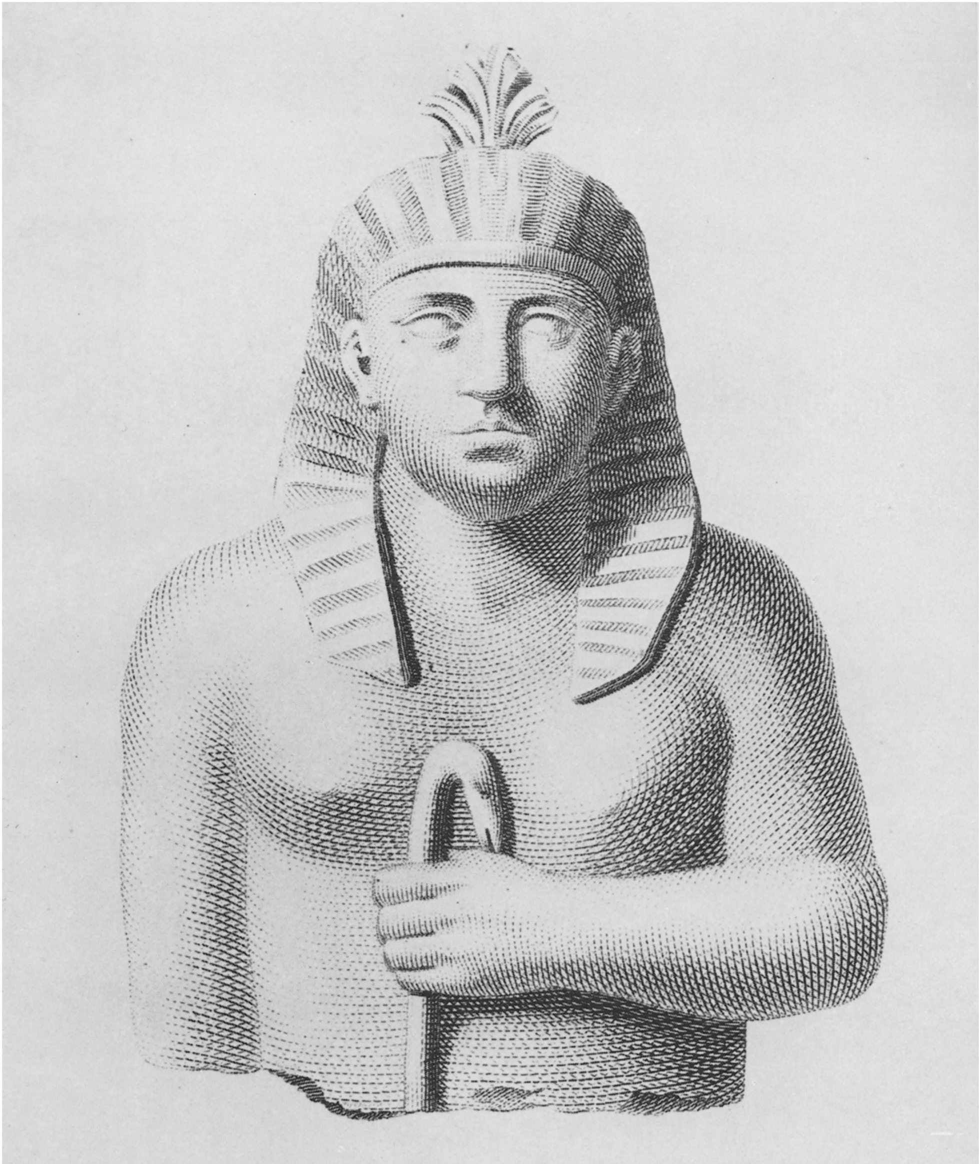
186



In aedib. Sfortiae olim
Card. Carpen.
in aedib. Caesis
AMICI BENEFA
CERE SEMPER
STVDIOSVS FVI

187

PLATE CXXXIV



EGYPTIAN IDOL

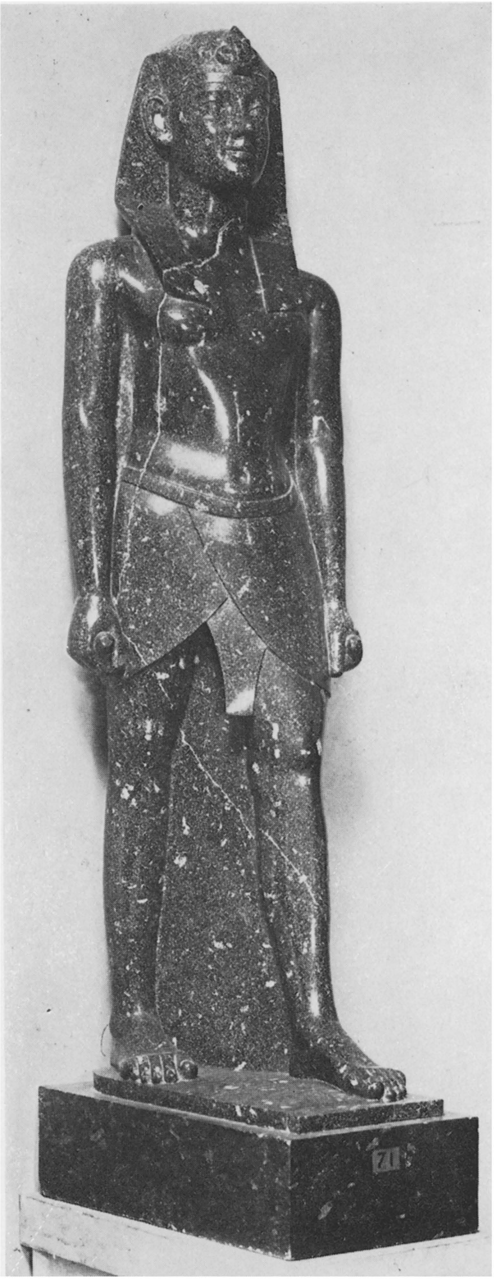

71

PLATE CXXXVI

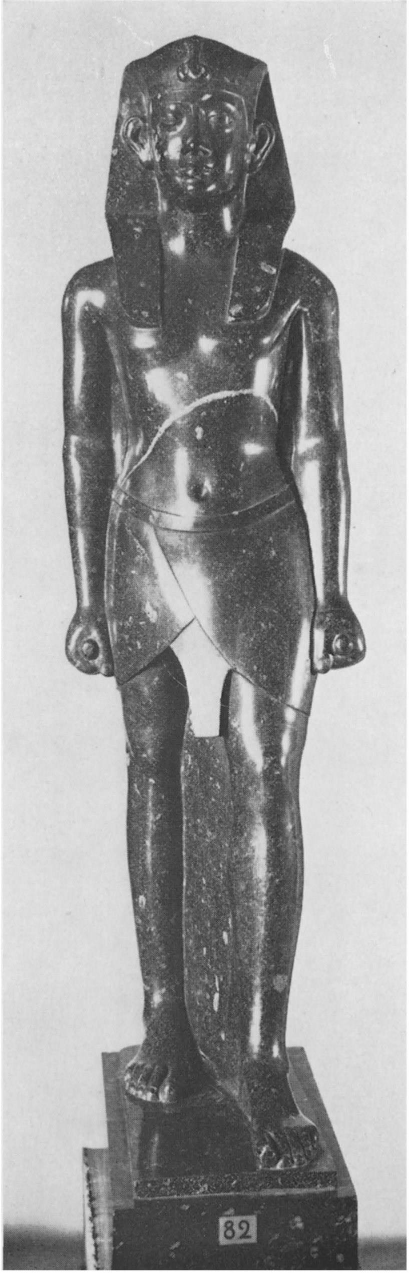


PLATE CXXXVII

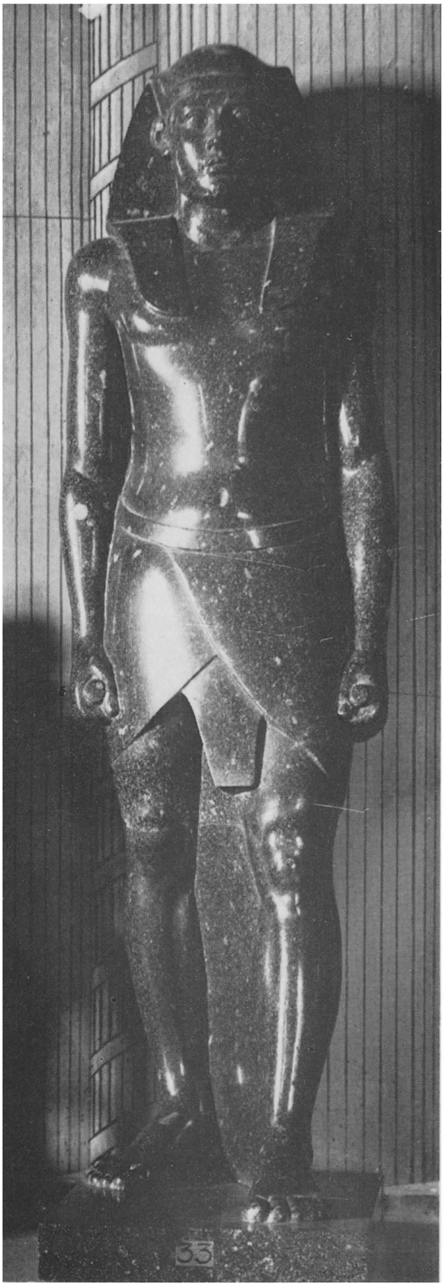
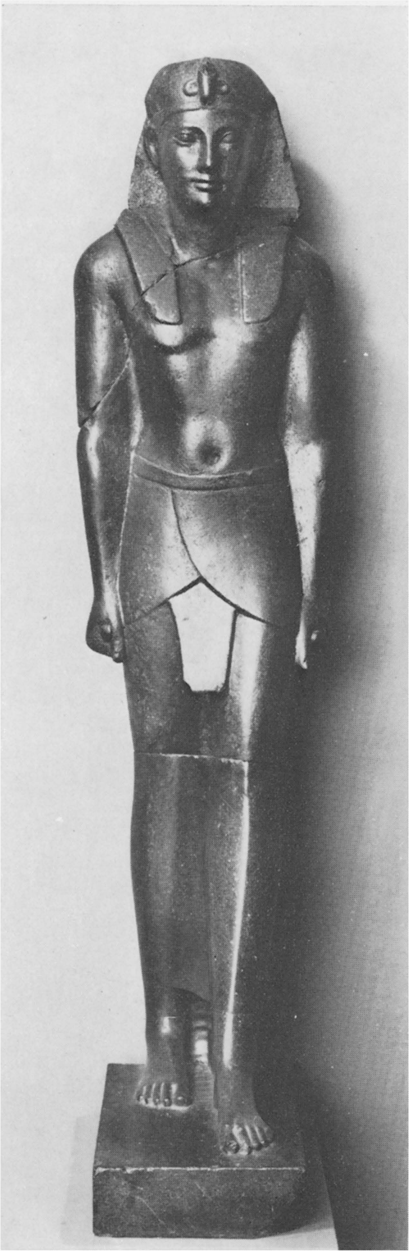


Plate CXXXVIII



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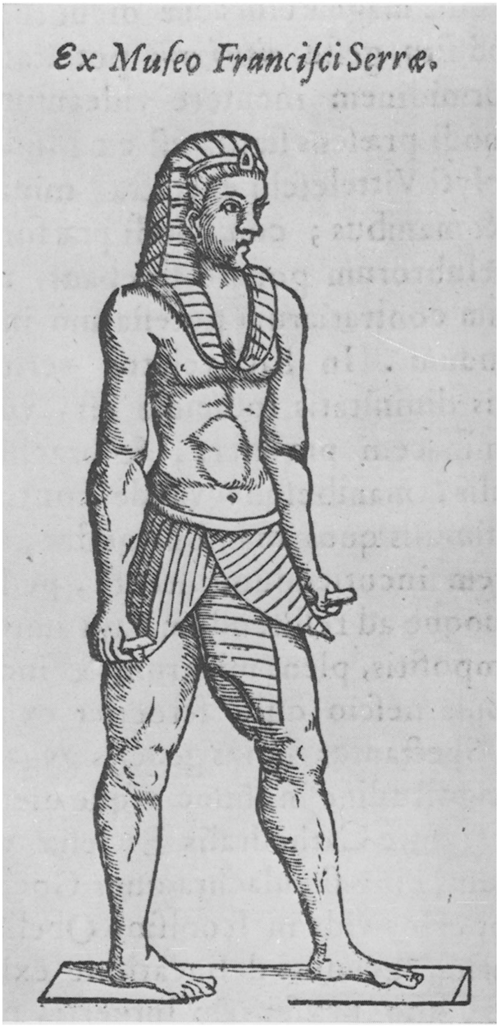
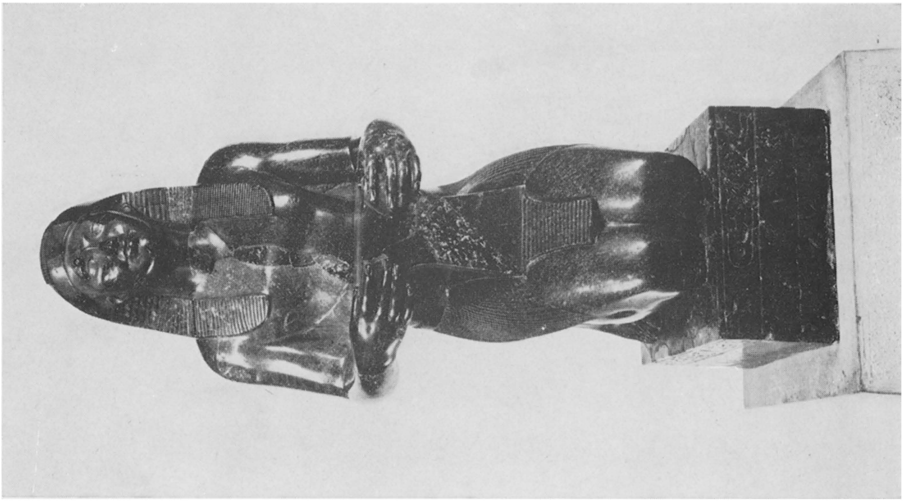

Ex Muſeo Franciſci Serræ.

193



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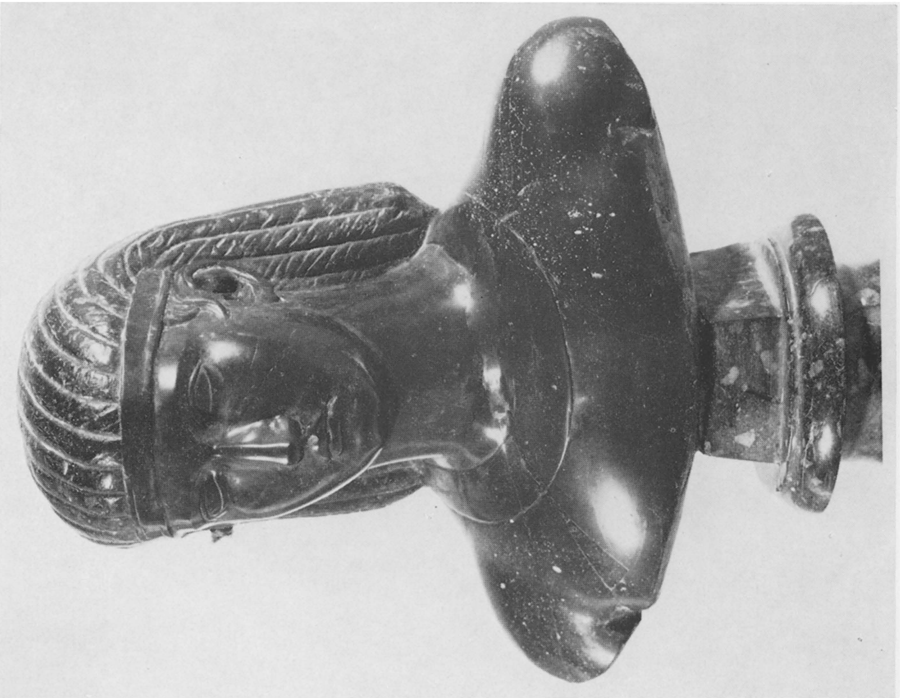
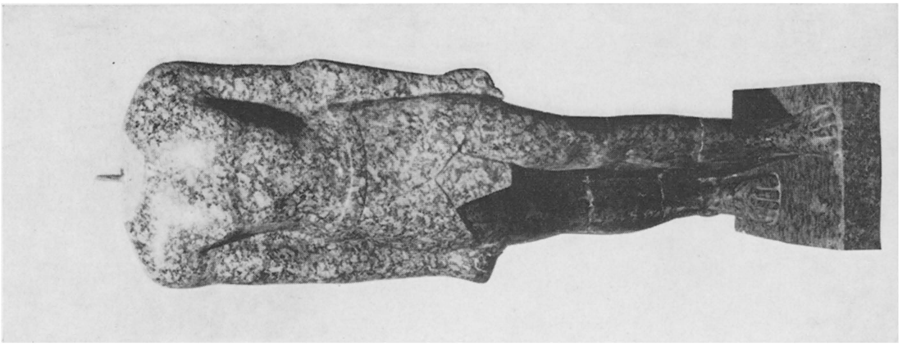


195

PLATE CXL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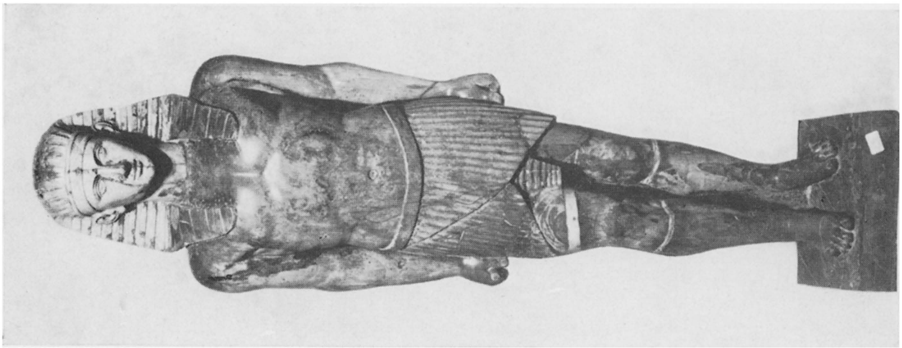
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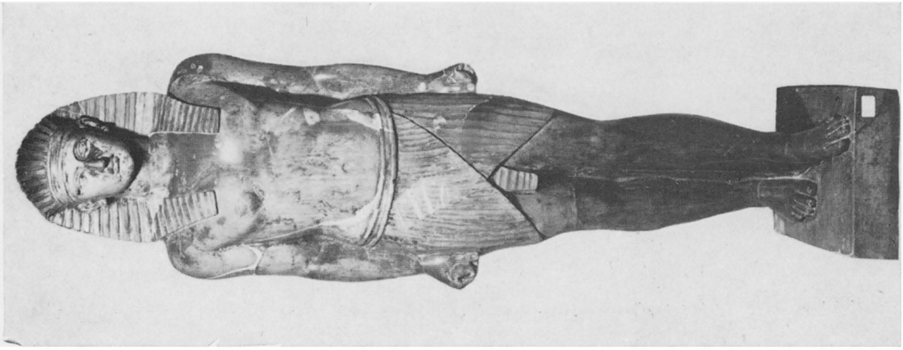
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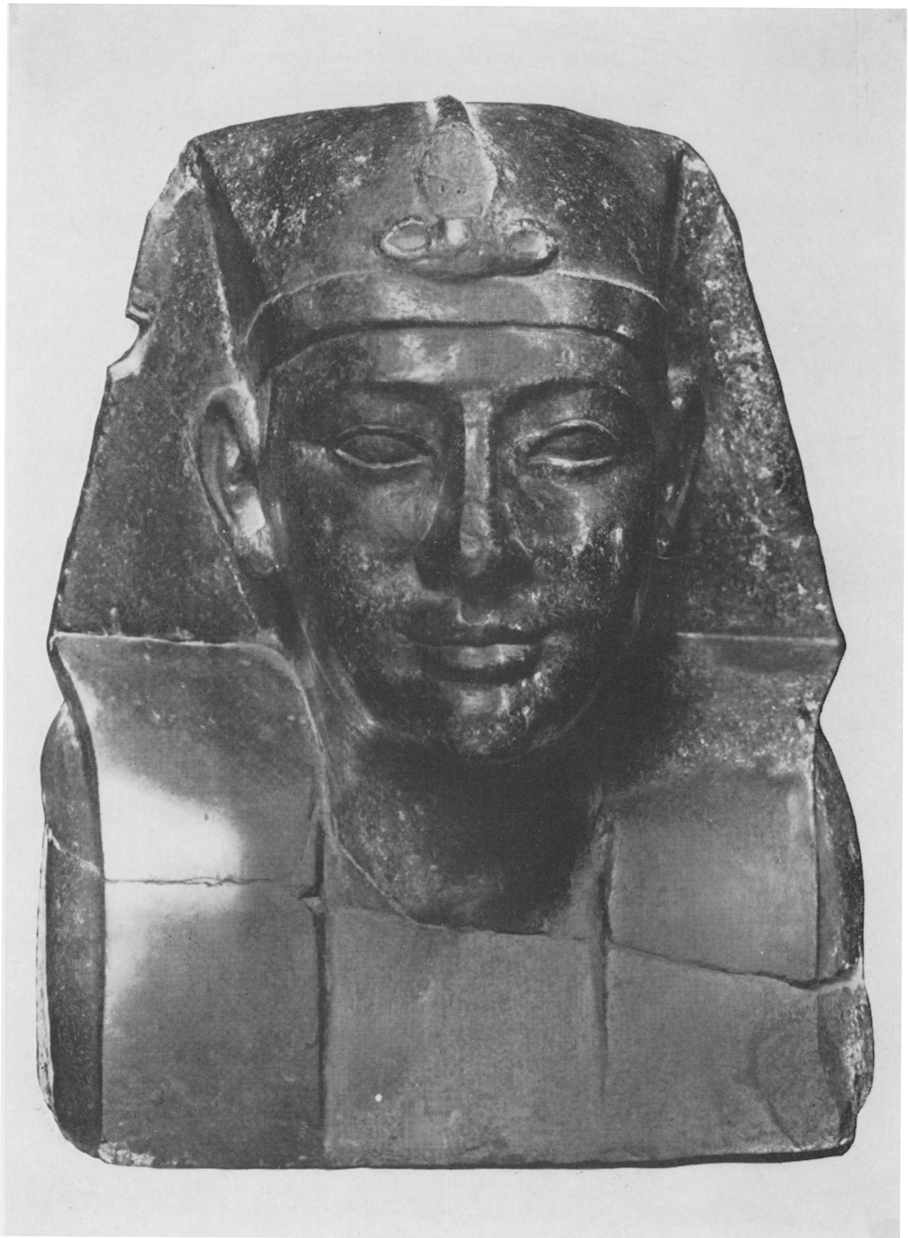
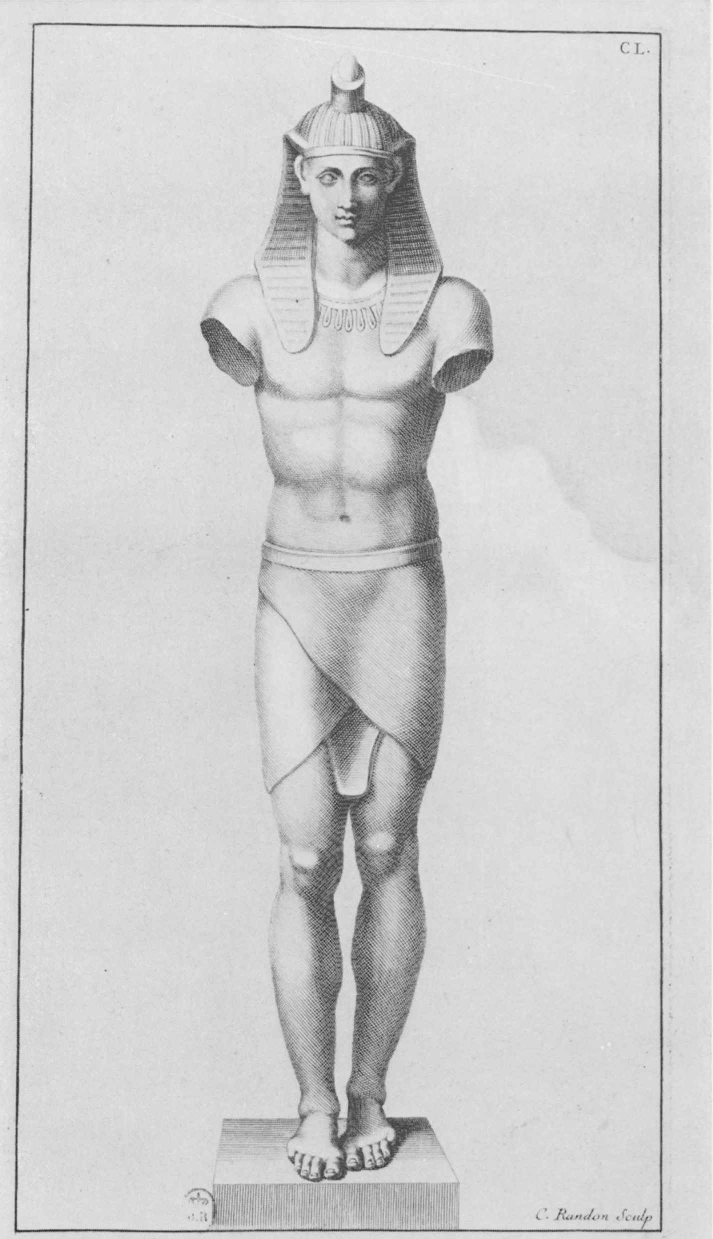


Plate CXLII


CL.
C. Randon Sculp

STATVA D'VN SACERDOTE D'ISIDE

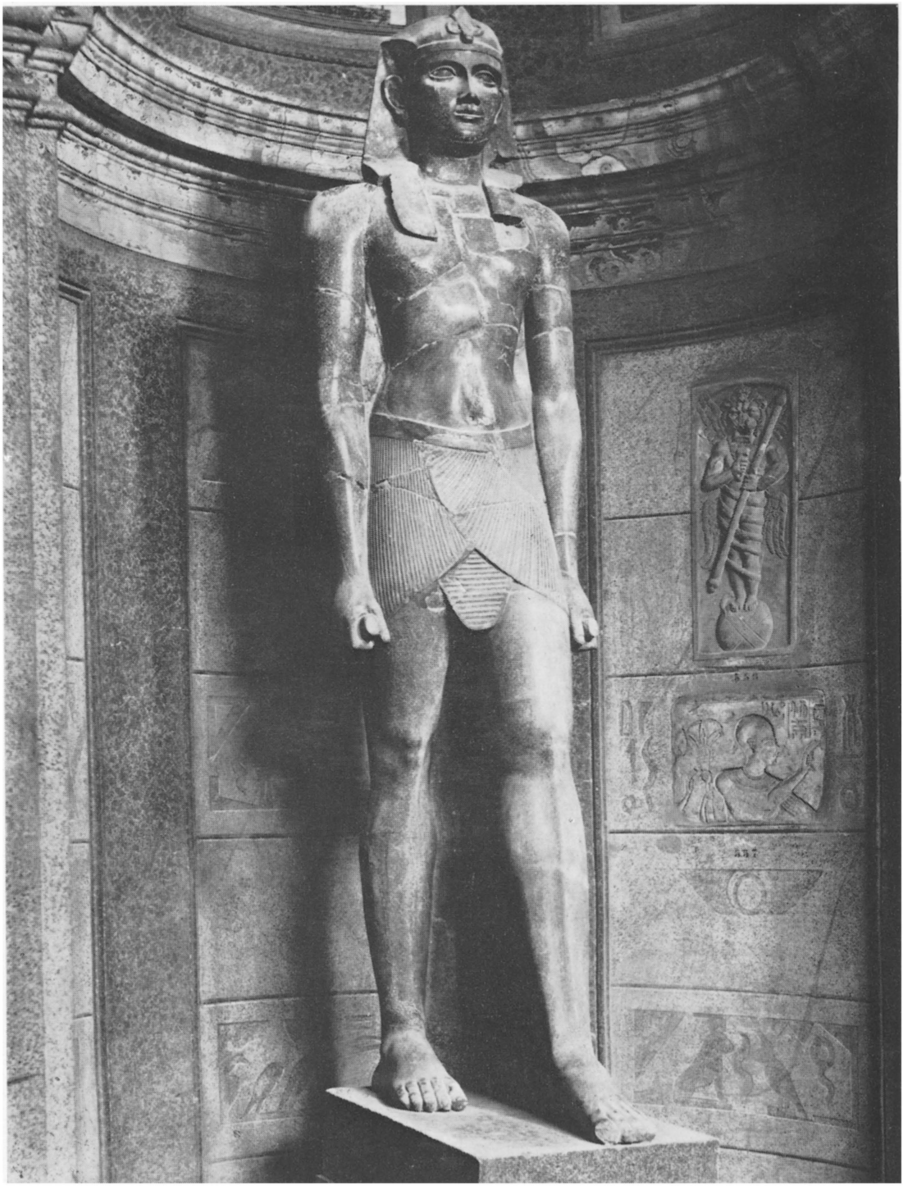
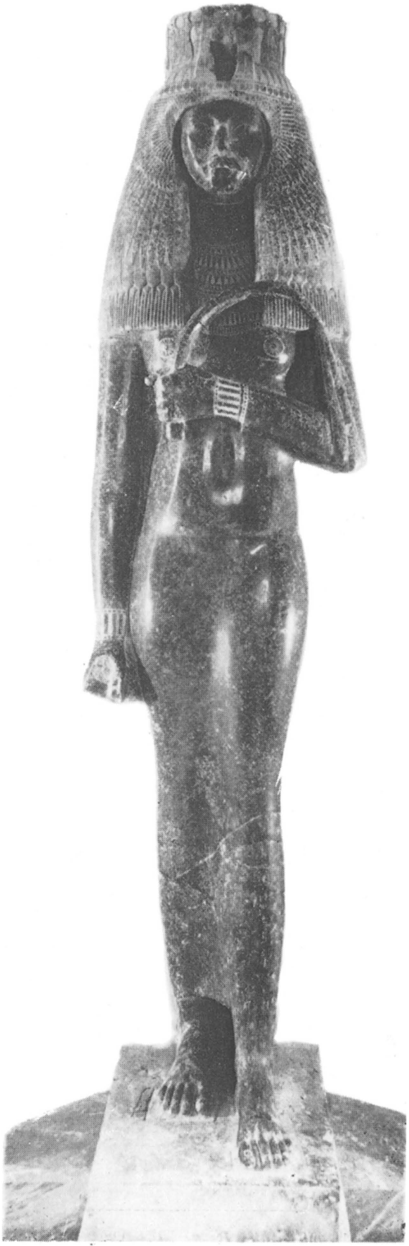


PLATE CXLIV



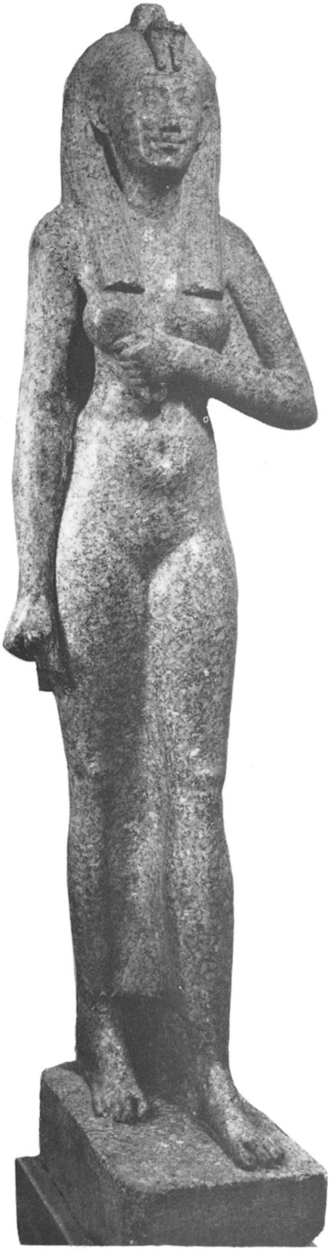
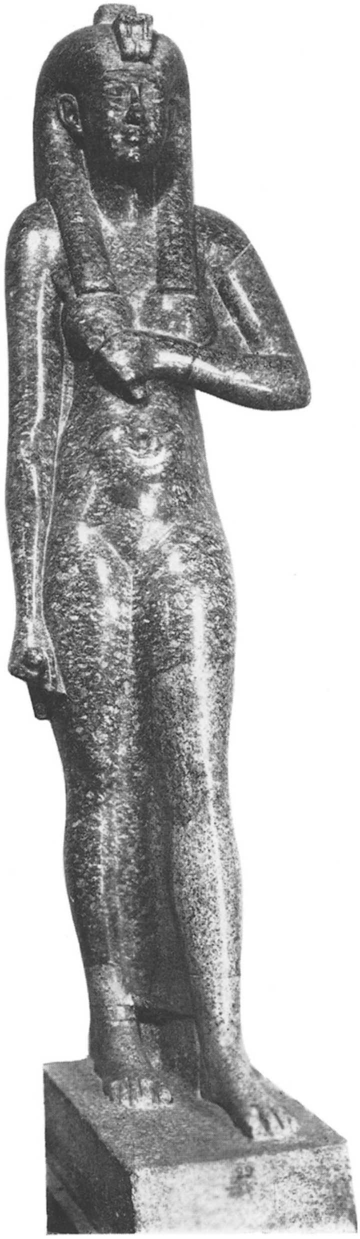


Plate CXLVI



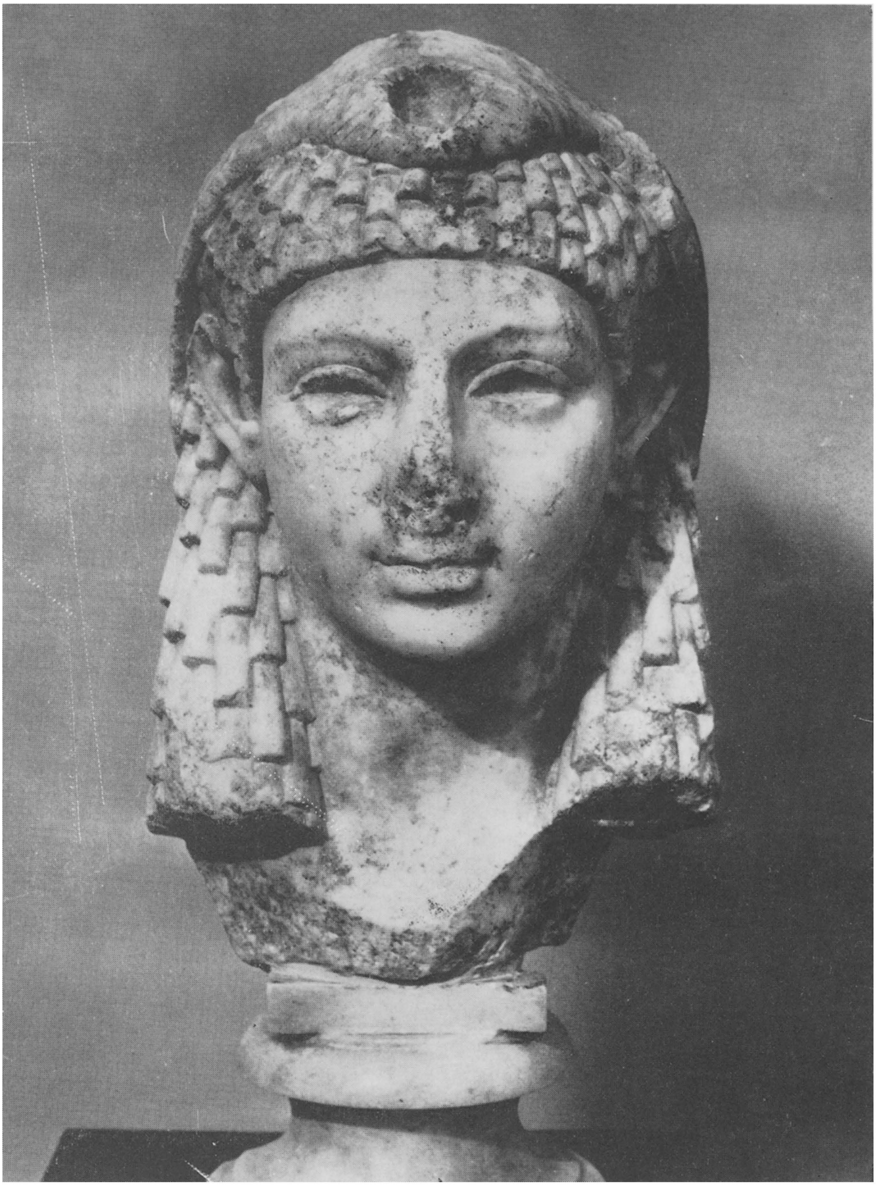
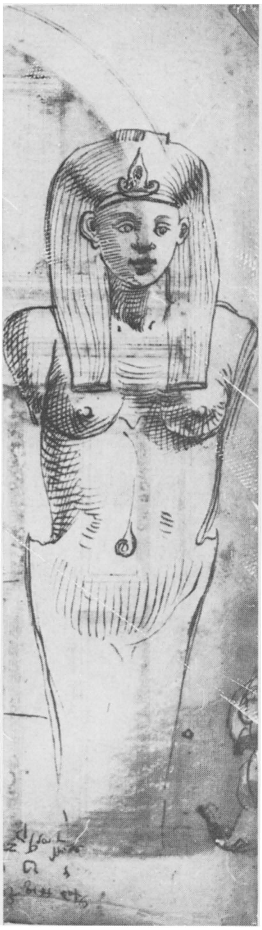
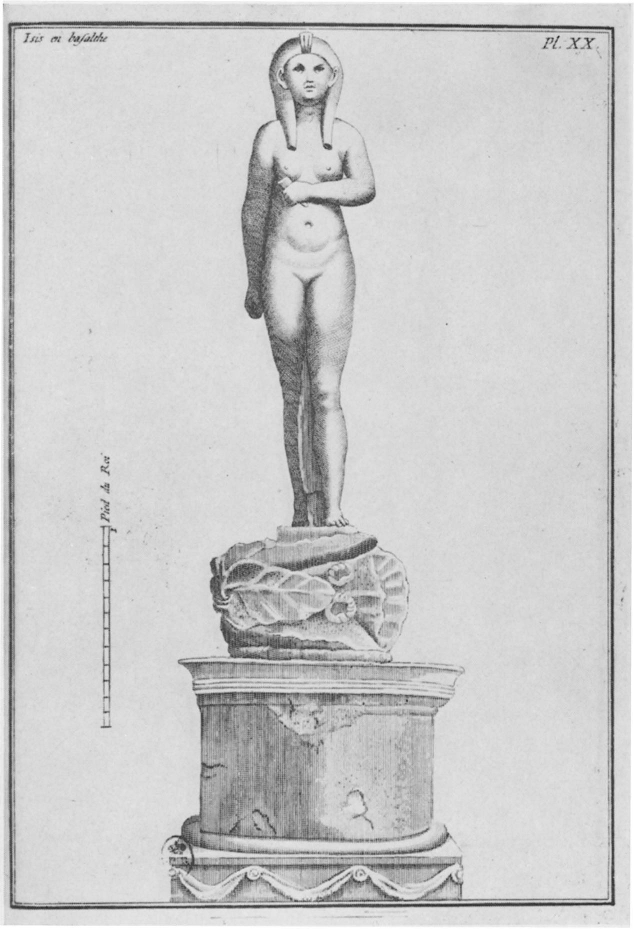


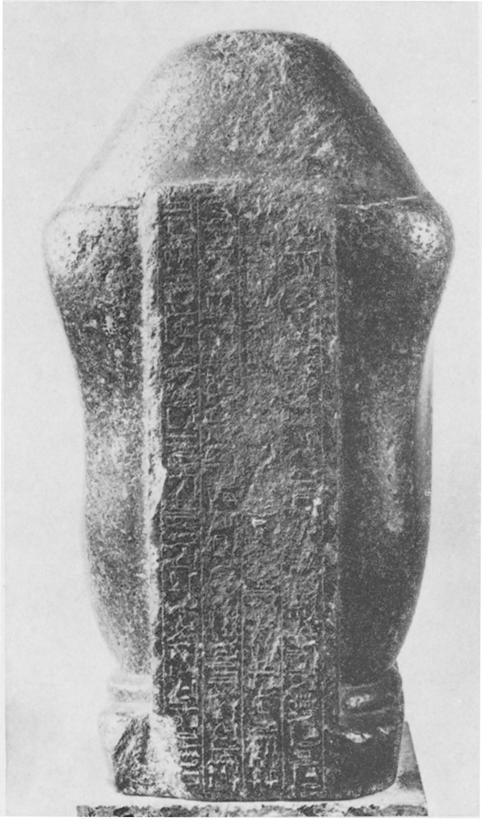
Plate CXLVIII



206


Isis en basalthe
Pl. XX
Pied du Roi

207



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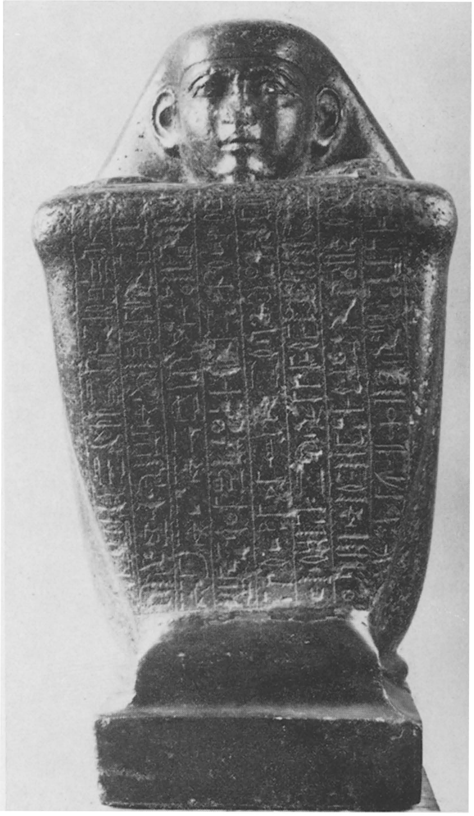

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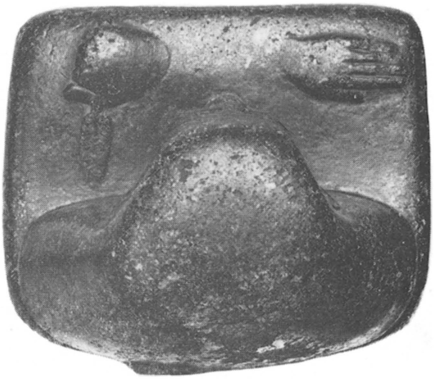
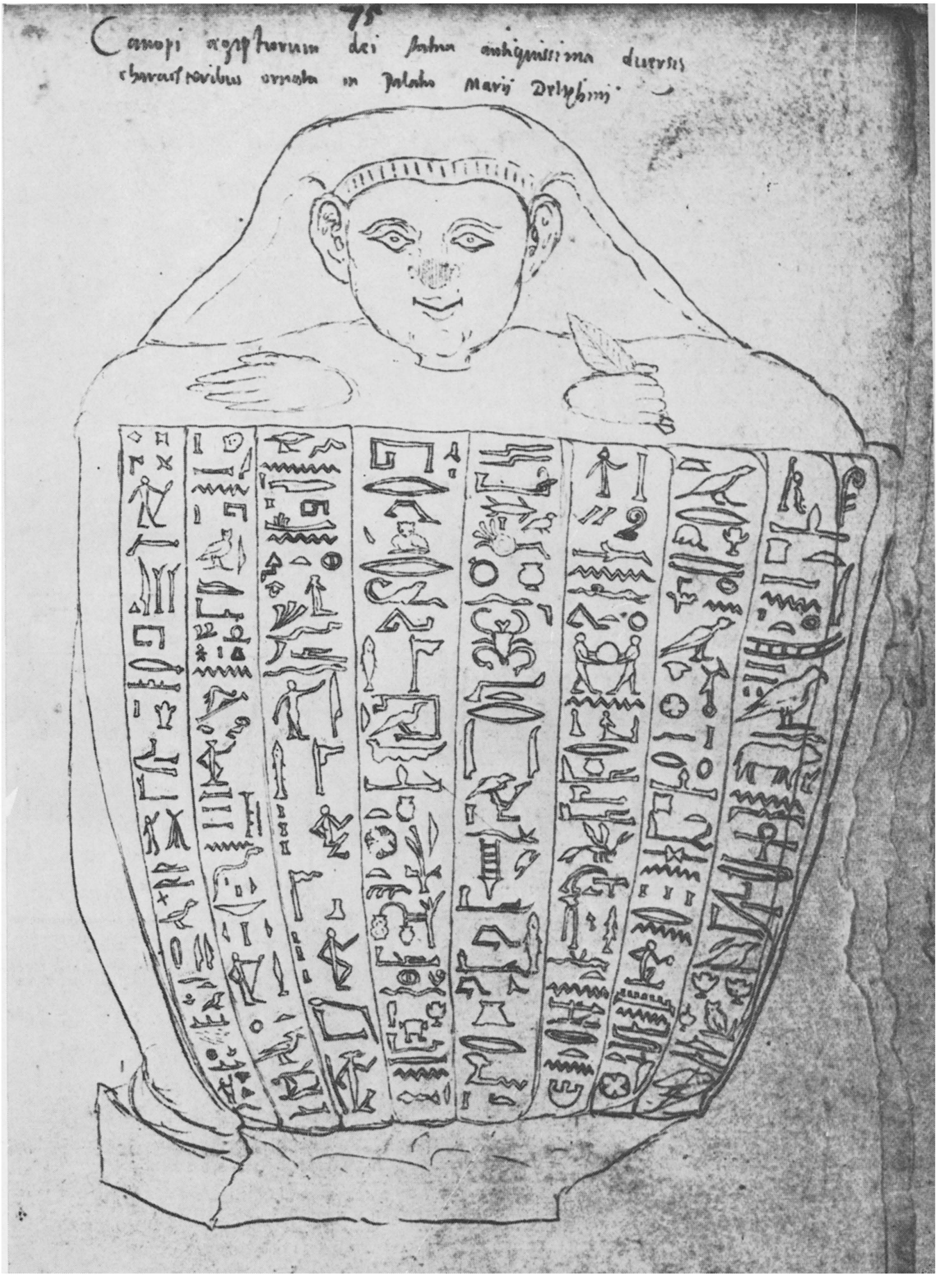


210

PLATE CL



Canopi aegyptiorum dei statua antiquissima diversis
characteribus ornata in Palatio Marij Delphini.

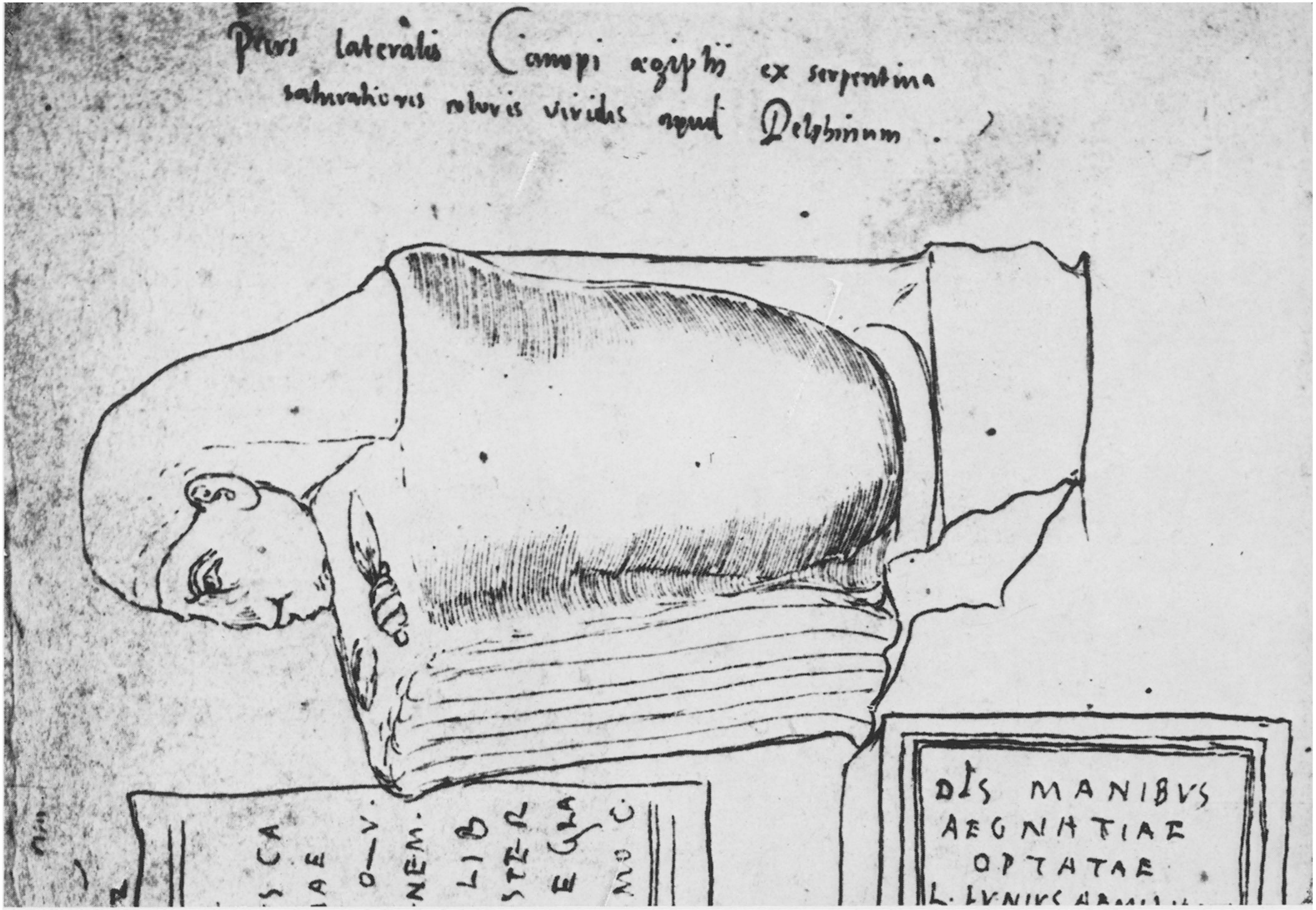
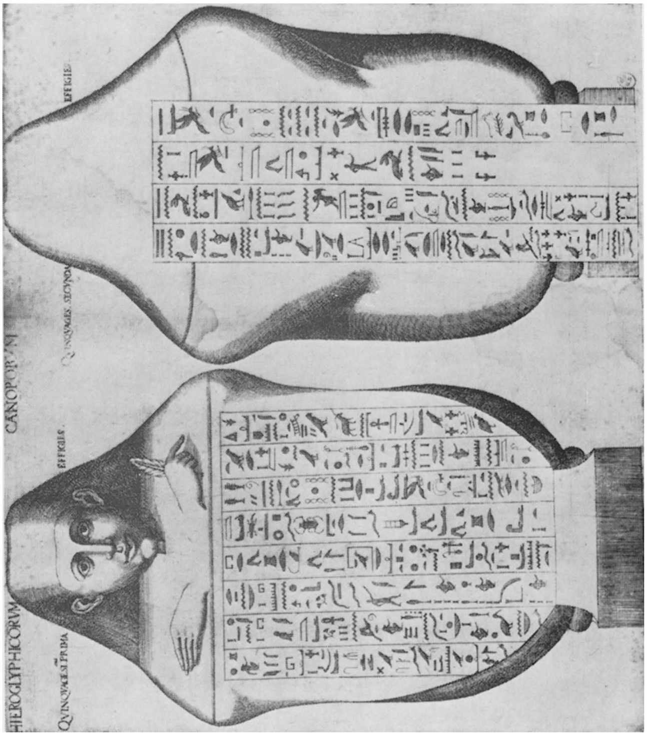
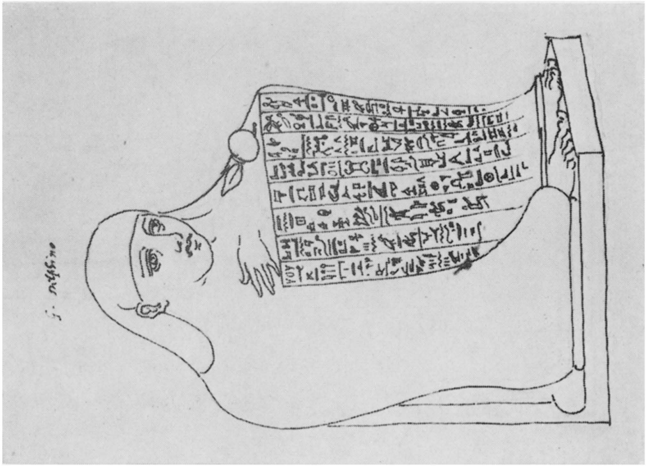

Prius lateralis Canopi aegiptii ex serpentina
saturatioris coloris viridis apud Delphinum.
S CA
AE
O—V.
NEM.
LIB
STER
E GRA
MO C.
DIS MANIBVS
AEGNATIAE
OPTATAE
L. LVNIVS

PLATE CLII


HIEROGLYPHICORVM CANOPORVM
QVINQVAGESI PRIMA EFFIGIES.
QVINQVAGES. SECVNDA EFFIGIES.

214



213

Plate CLIII

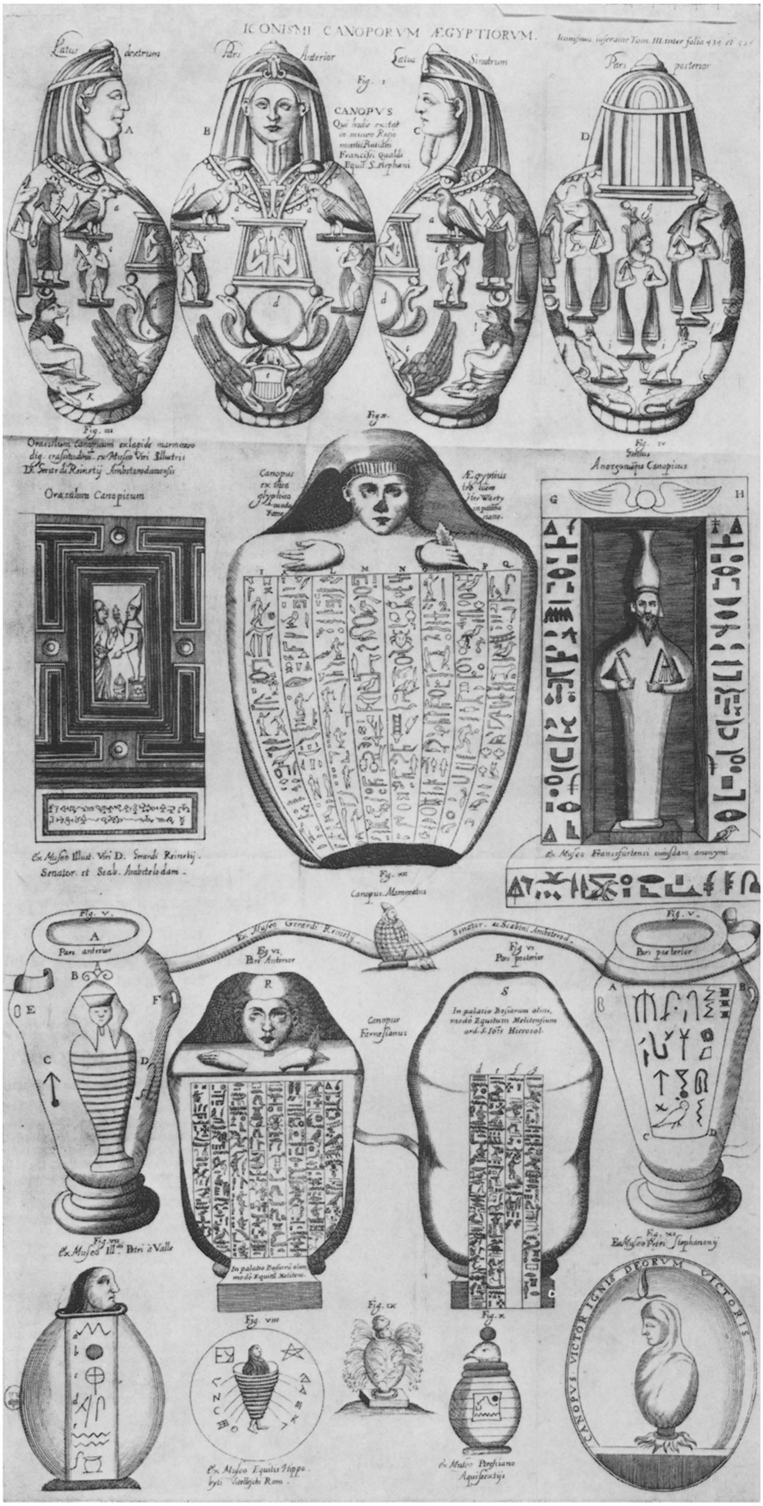
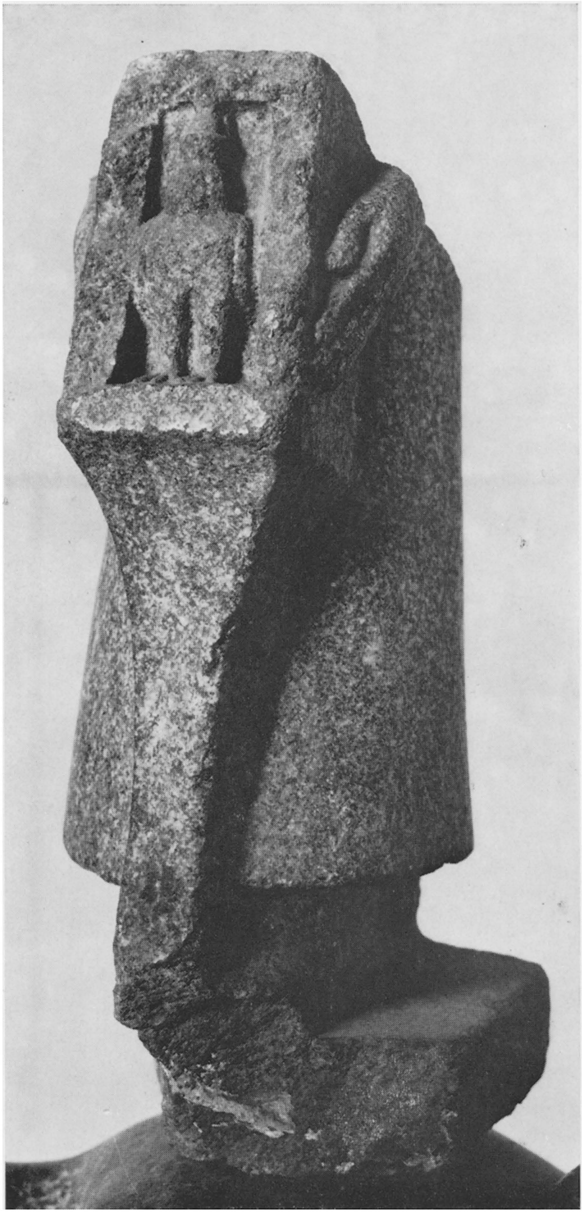
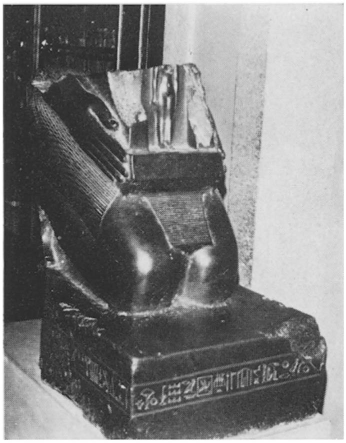

ICONISMI CANOPORVM ÆGYPTIORVM.
Iconismus inseratur Tom. III. inter folia 434 et 435
Latus dextrum
Pars Anterior
Latus Sinistrum
Pars posterior
Fig. 1
CANOPVS
Qui hodie exstat in museo Regii montis Pontificii Francisci Gualdi Equit. S. Stephani
A
B
C
D
Fig. III
Oraculum Canopicum ex lapide marmoreo dig. crassitudinis. ex Museo Viri Illustris D. Gerardi Reinstij Amsterodamensis
Fig. II
Canopus ex thea glyphica modo Farne
Ægyptius tre lineo Iter Warty in pettine natto.
Fig. IV
Anorgonalis Canopicus
G
H
Oraculum Canopicum
I
L
M
N
O
P
Q
Ex Museo Illust. Viri D. Gerardi Reinstij. Senator. et Scab. Amstelodam.
Fig. XII
Canopus Mammatus
Ex Museo Francofurtensi cuiusdam anonymi
Fig. V.
Pars anterior
Ex Museo Gerardi Reinsty Senator. ac Scabini Amsterod.
Fig. VI
Pars Anterior
Fig. VI
Pars posterior
Fig. V.
Pars posterior
R
S
Canopus Farnesianus
In palatio Bosiorum olim, modò Equitum Melitensium ord. S. Iois Hierosol.
E
F
Fig. VII
Ex Museo Ill.mi Petri à Valle
In palatio Bosiorum olim modò Equitum Melitens.
Fig. XI
Ex Museo Petri Stephanonij
Fig. VIII
Fig. IX
Fig. X
CANOPVS VICTOR IGNIS DEORVM VICTORIS
Ex Museo Equitis Hippolyti Vitelleschi Rom.
Ex Museo Perusiano Aquisextij

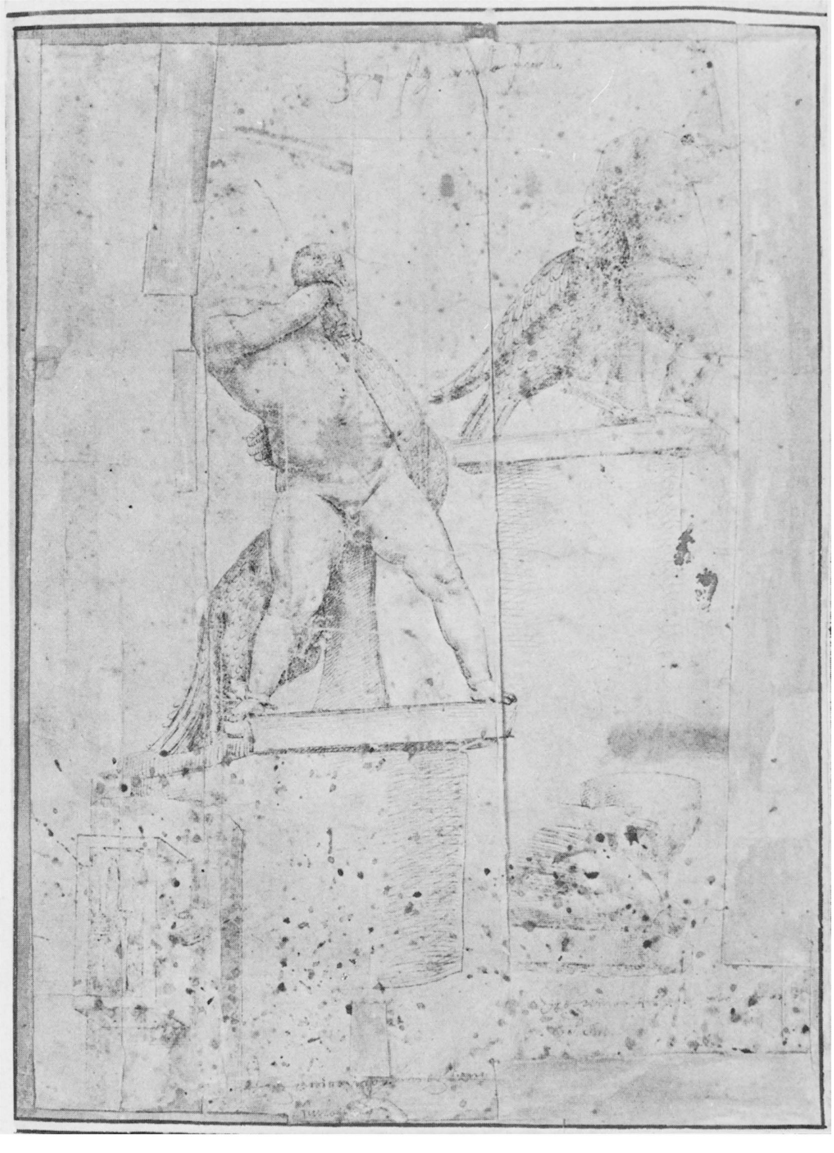
Plate CLIV



216



217



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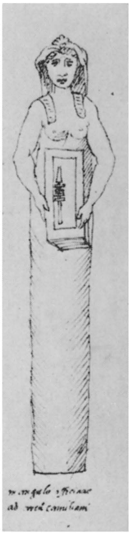

m angelo sficiane
ad med camiliani

219

PLATE CLVI

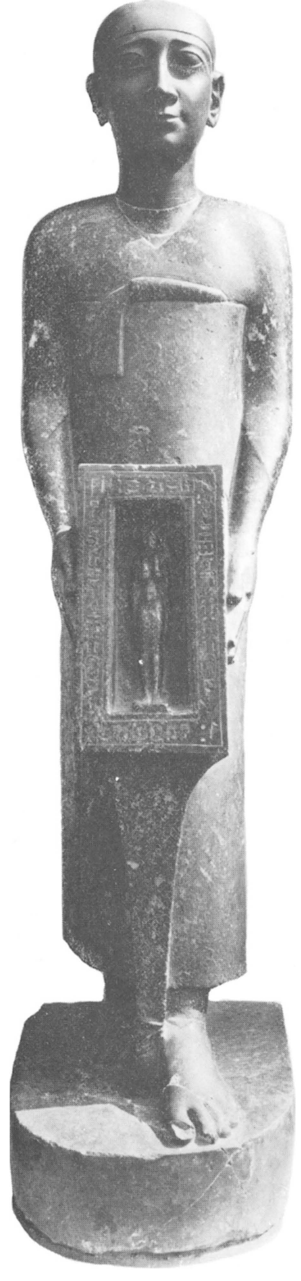
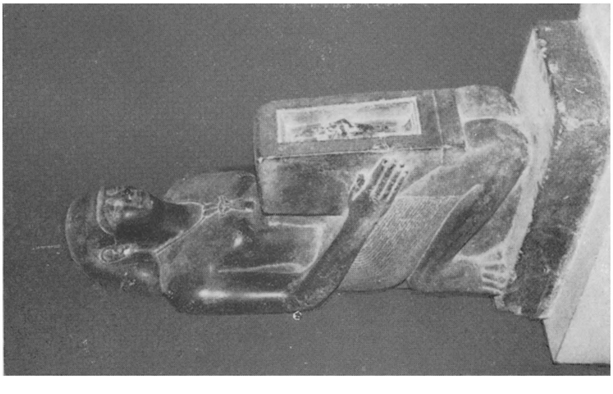


PLATE CLVII



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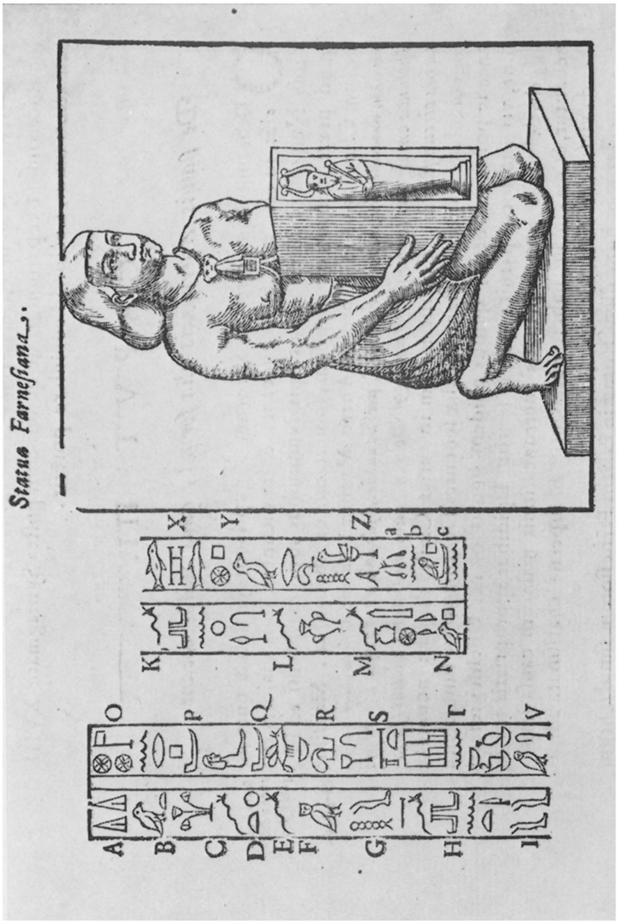


Statua Farnesiana.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
O
P
Q
R
S
T
V
K
L
M
N
X
Y
Z
a
b
c

222

PLATE CLVIII

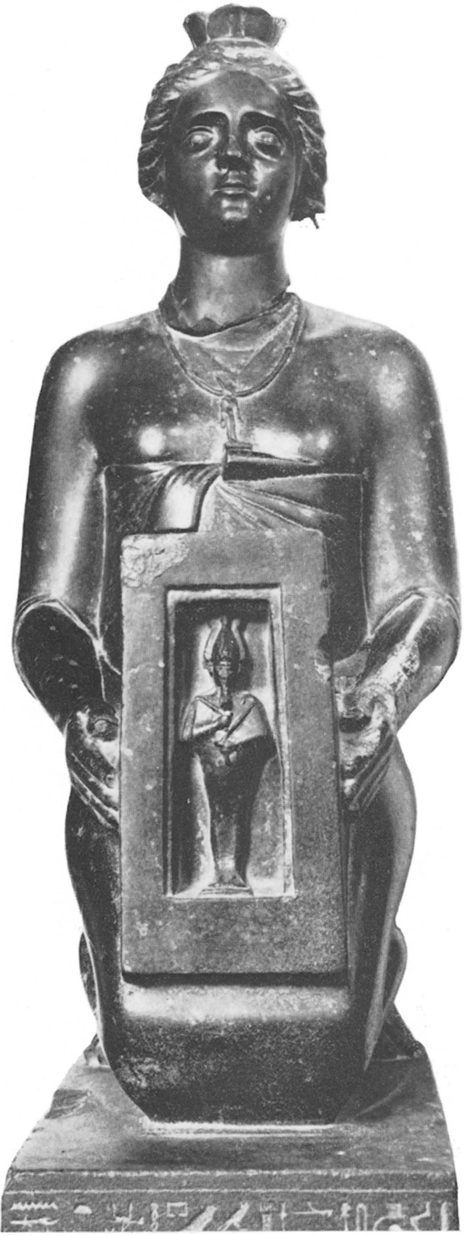


PLATE CLIX

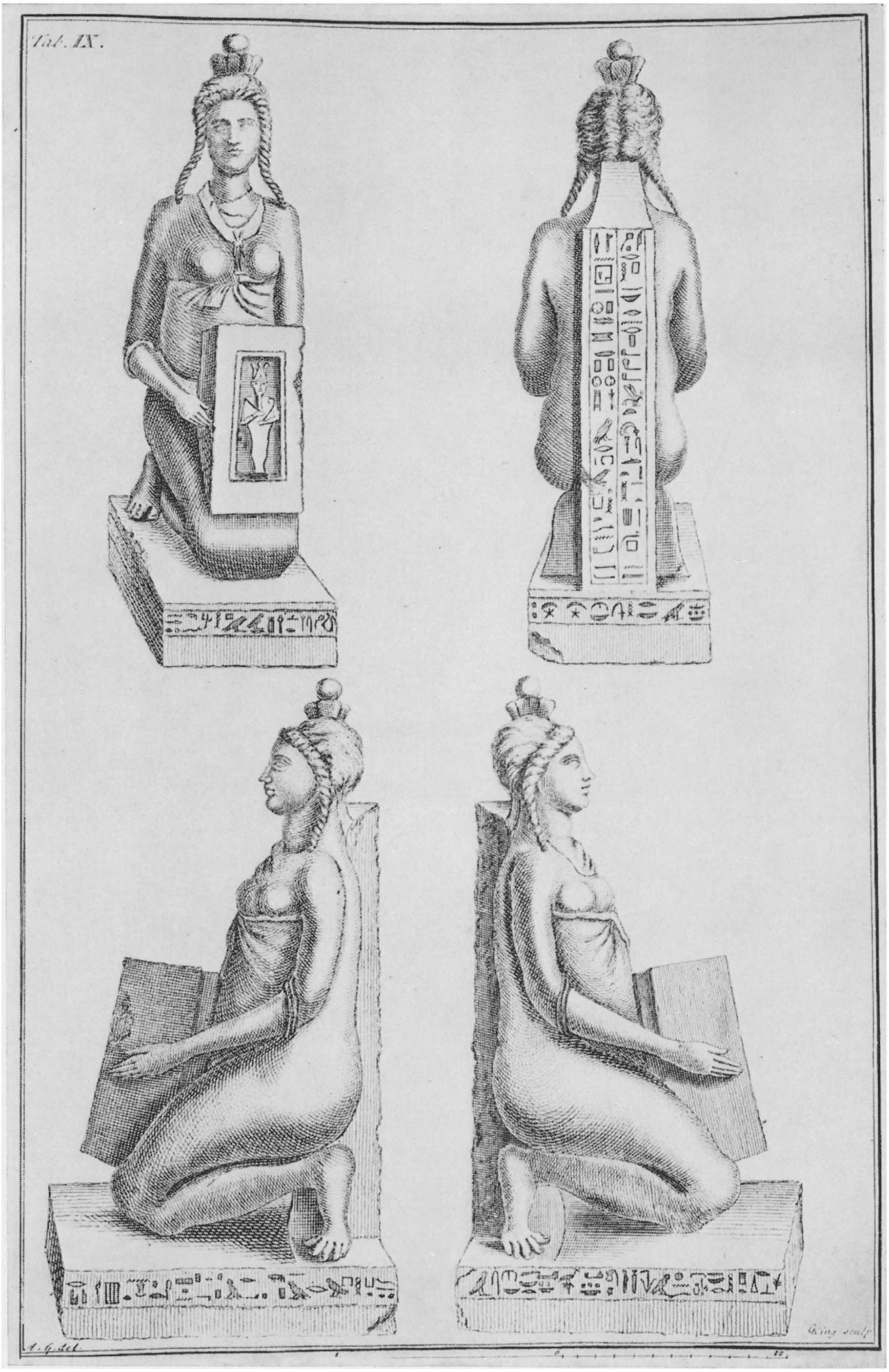
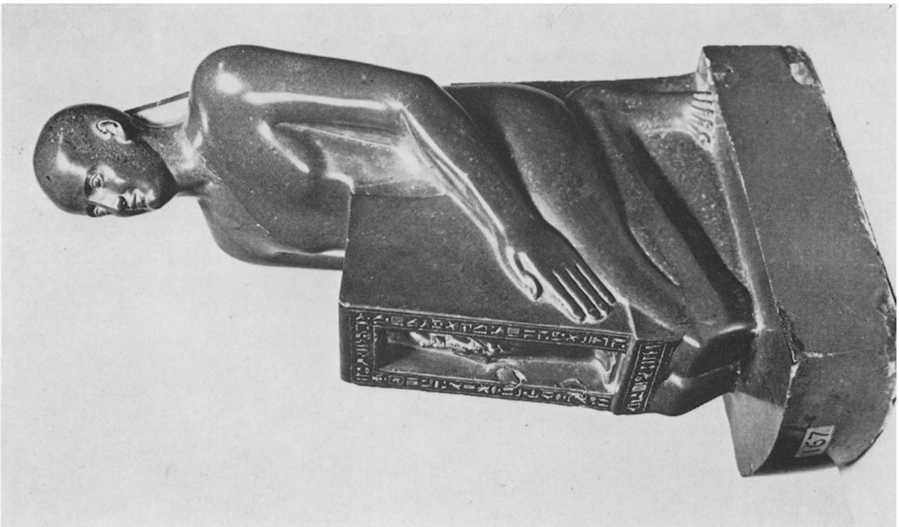
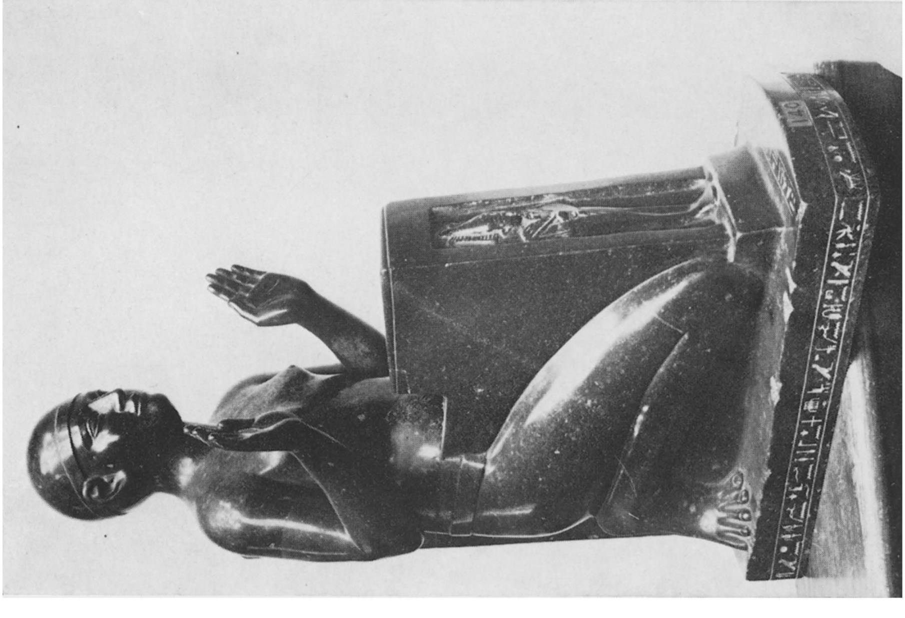

Tab. IX.
A. G. del.
G. King sculp.
1
6
12

Plate CLX

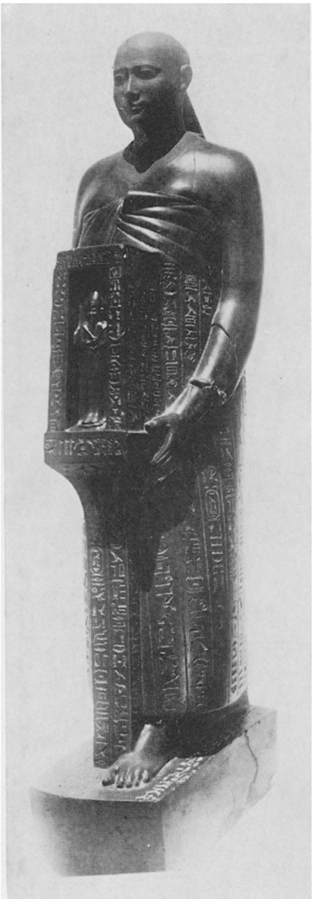


226



225

PLATE CLXI



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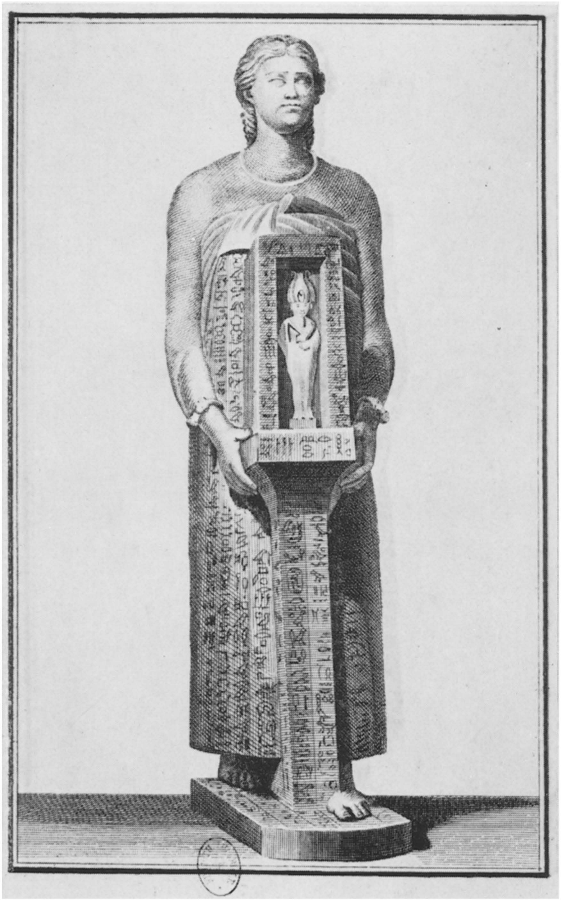
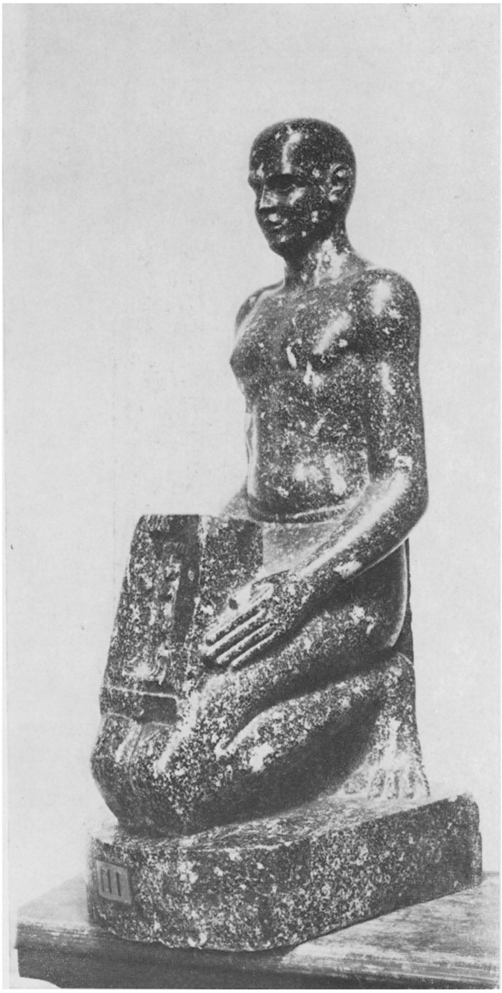


228

PLATE CLXII



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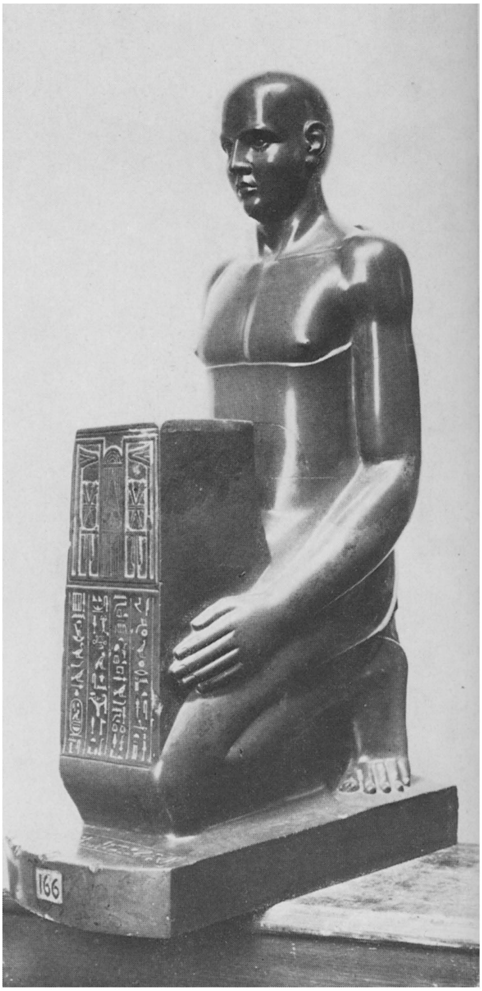
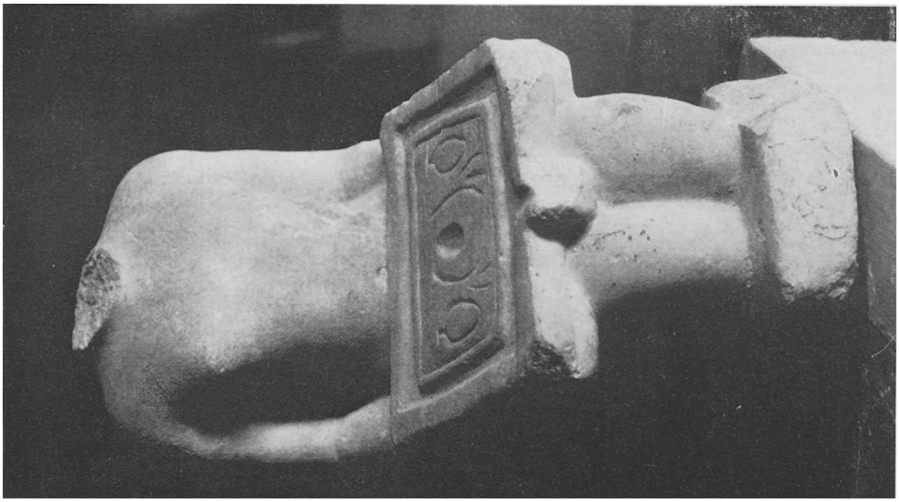


230

Plate CLXIII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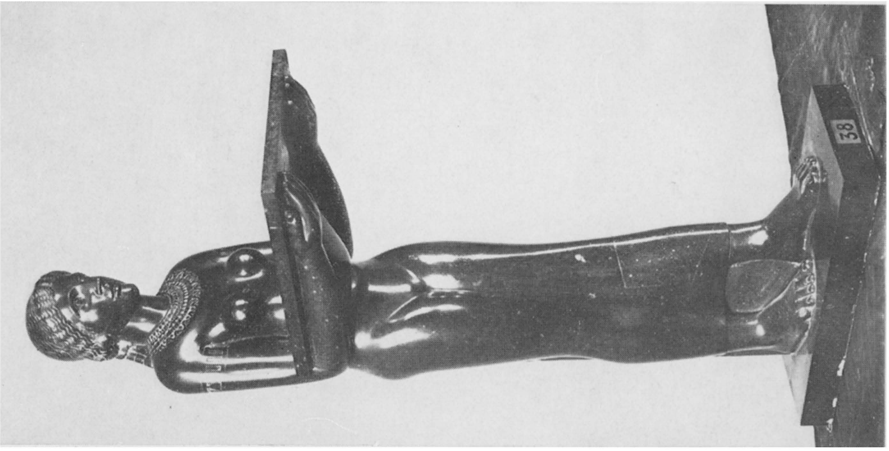


232

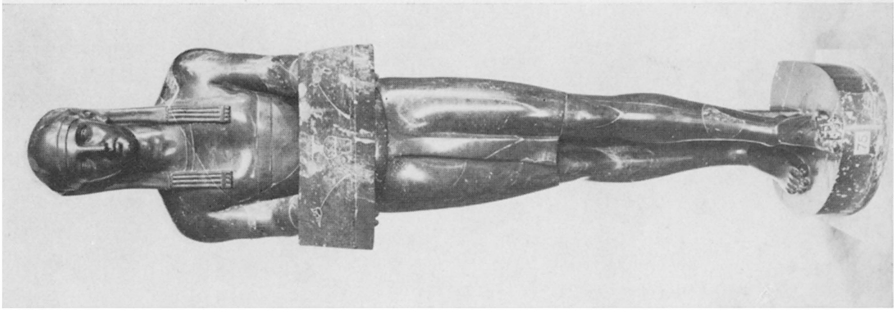

233

PLATE CLXIV

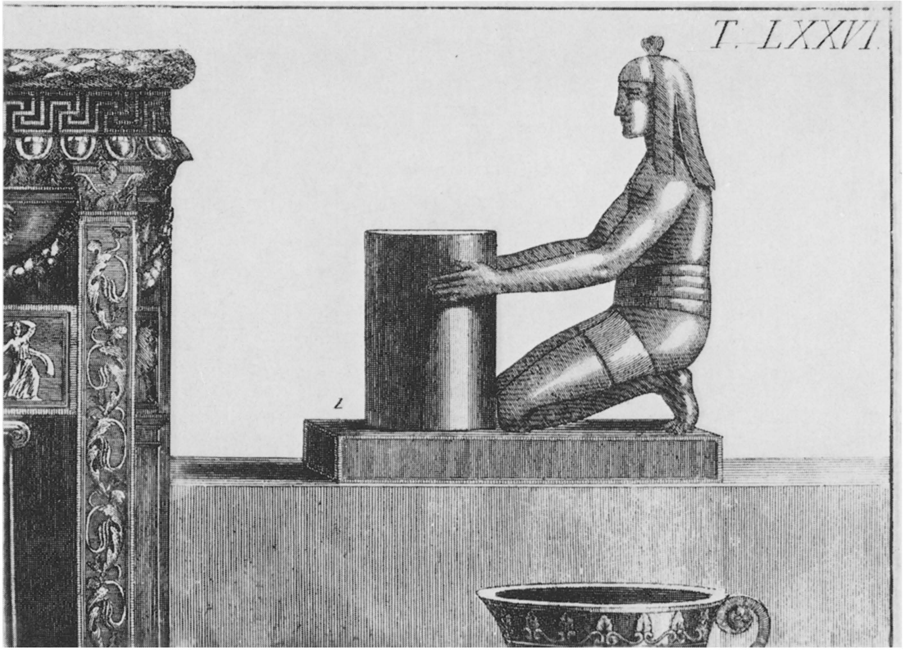
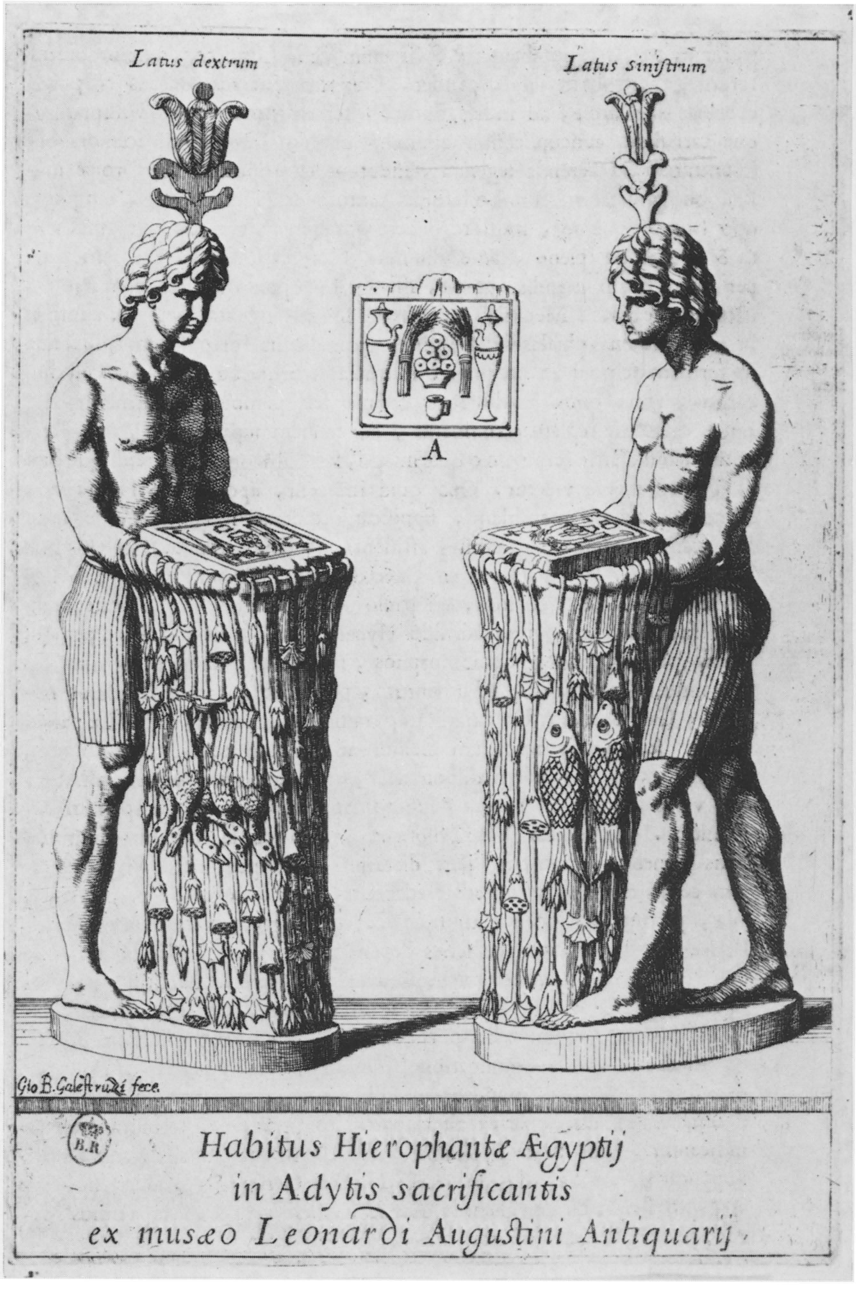
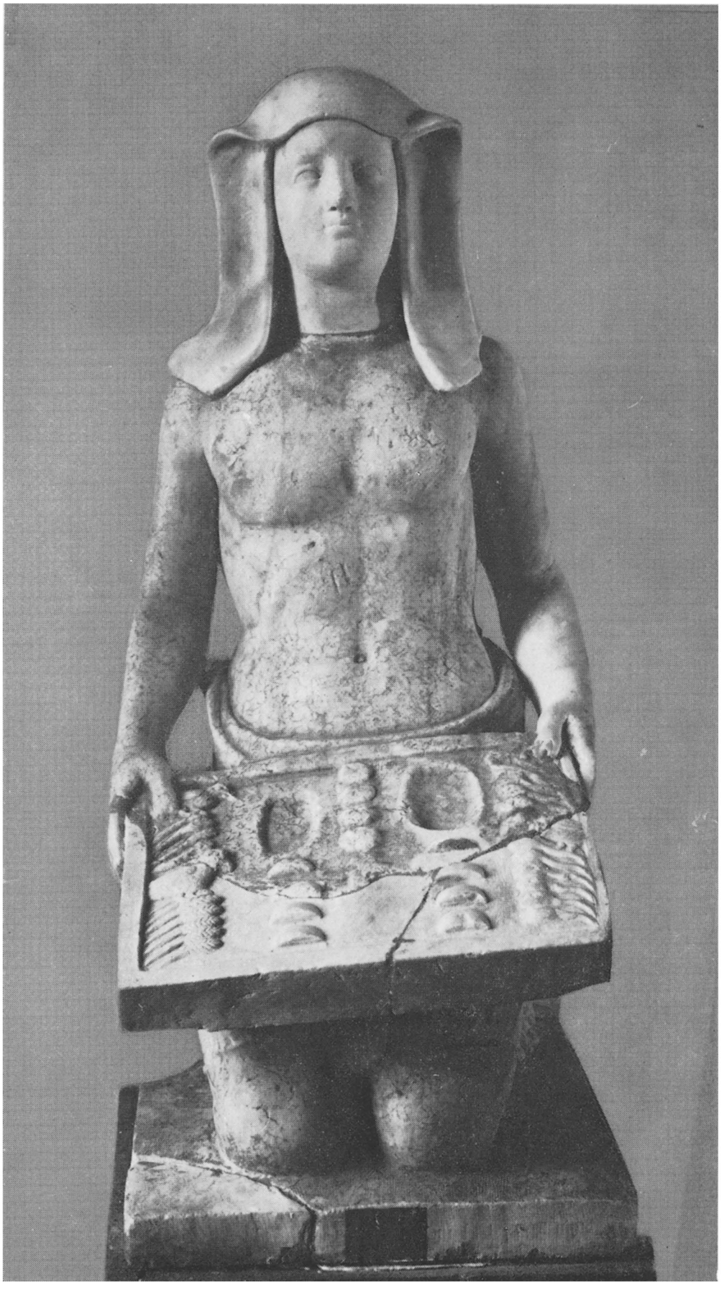


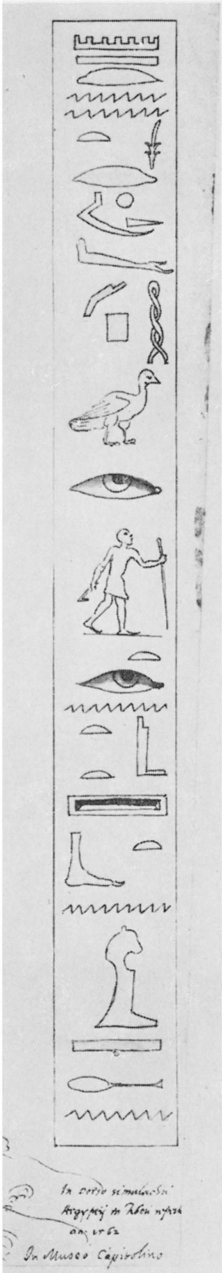
Plate CLXV


Latus dextrum
Latus ſiniſtrum
A
Gio B. Galeſtruzzi fece.

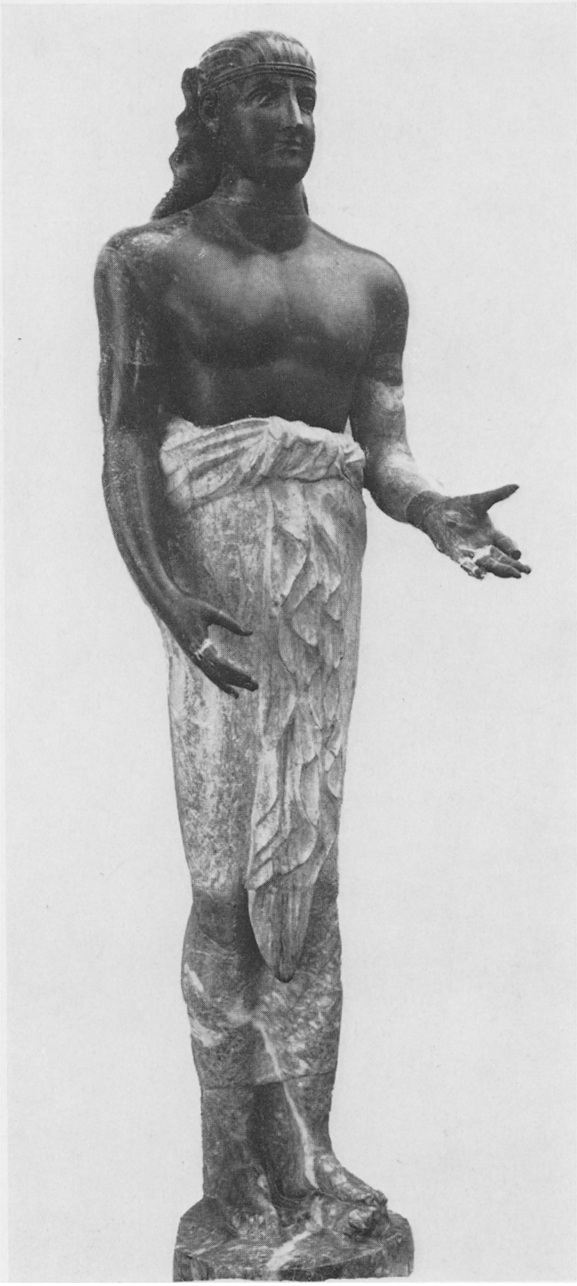
Habitus Hierophantæ Ægyptij
in Adytis ſacrificantis
ex muſæo Leonardi Auguſtini Antiquarij

B.R

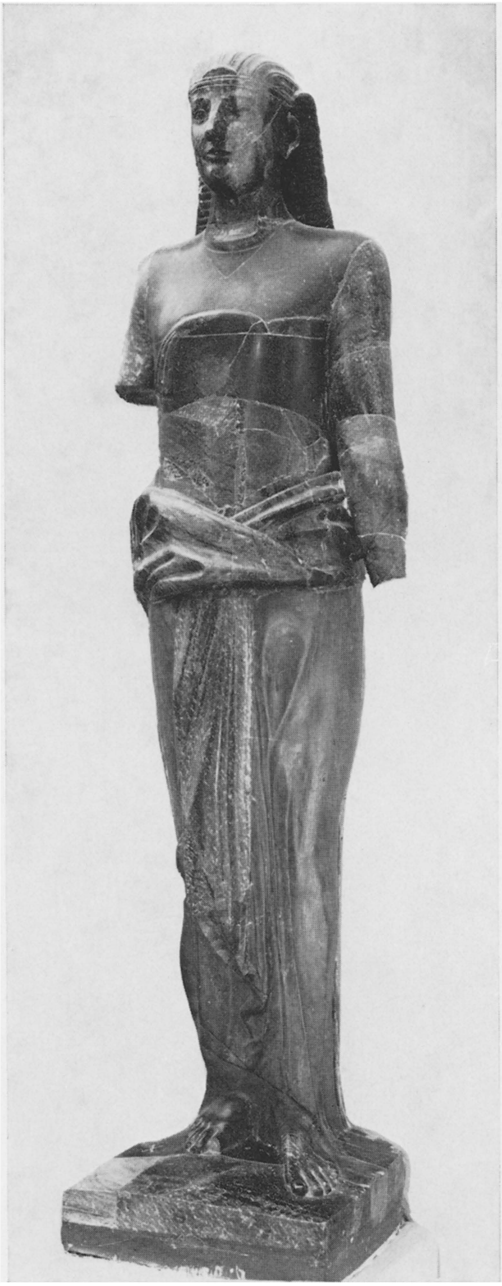



In tergo simulacri
Aegyptij in Urbe reperti
an. 1762
In Museo Capitolino

237



238



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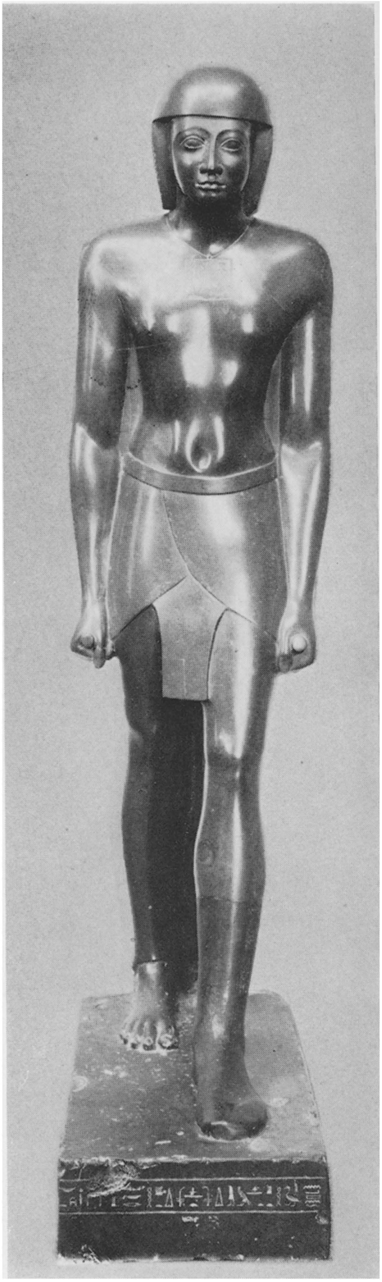

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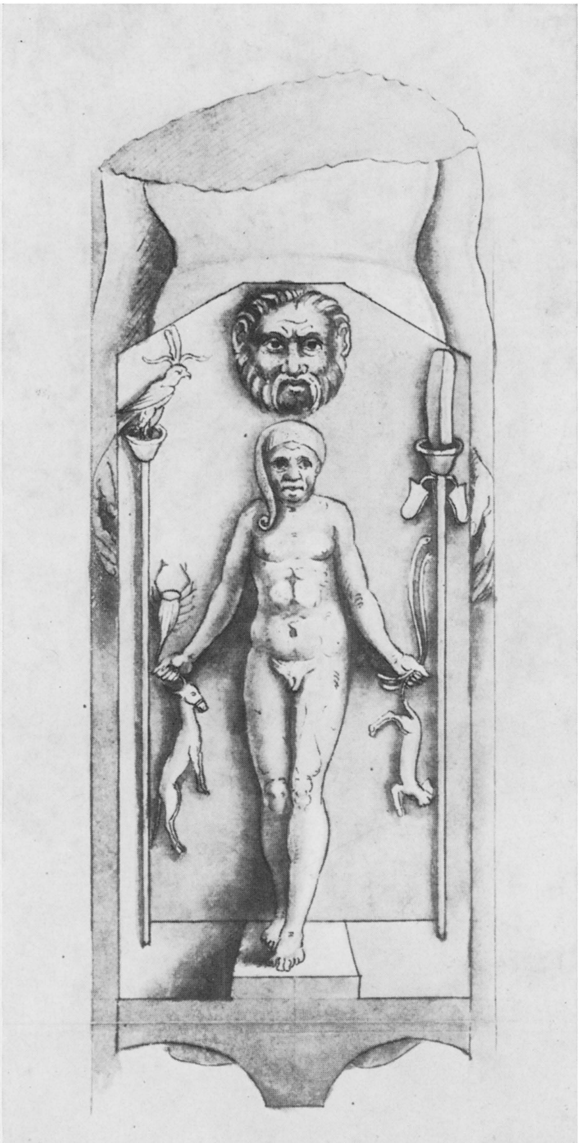

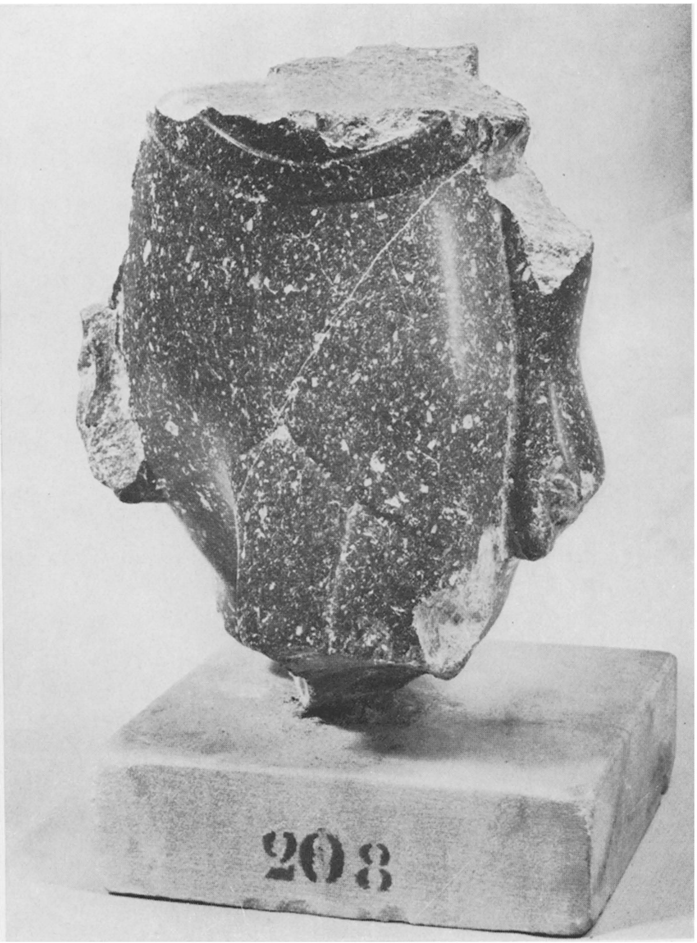

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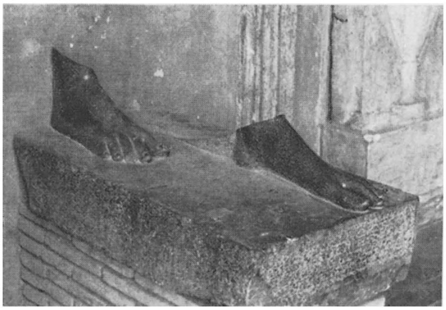
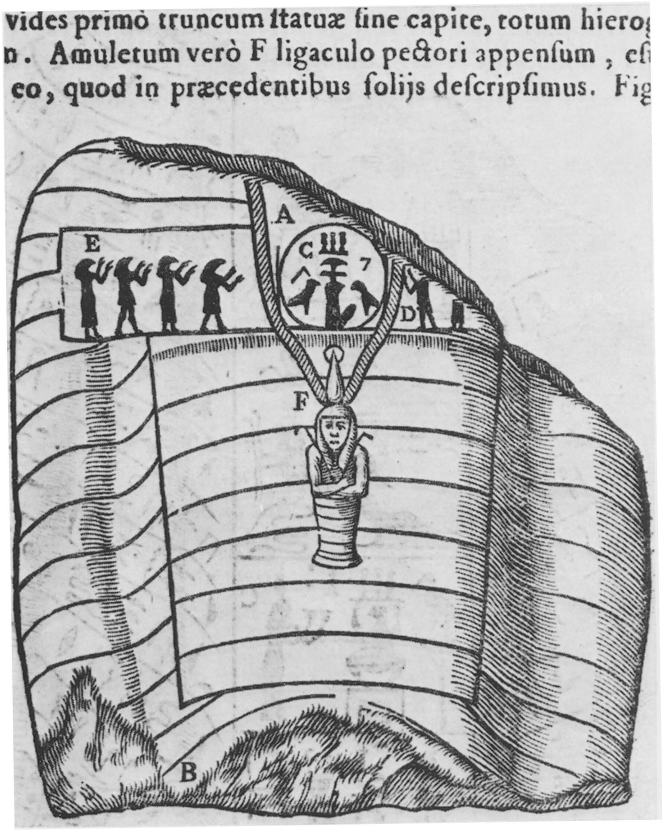


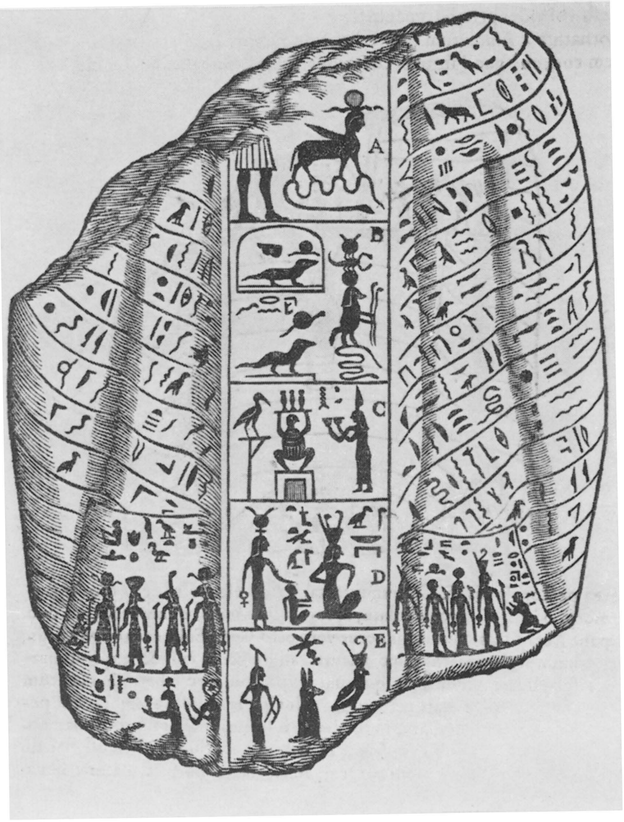
243

PLATE CLXXI



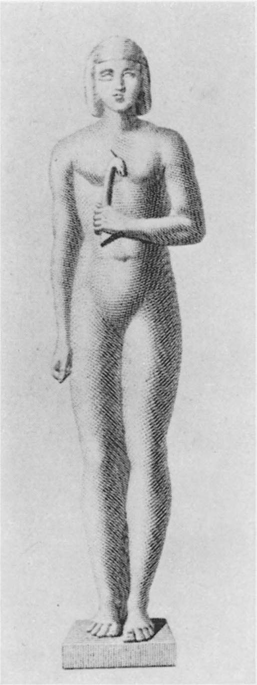
vides primò truncum ſtatuæ ſine capite, totum hierog
n. Amuletum verò F ligaculo pectori appenſum, eſ
eo, quod in præcedentibus ſolijs deſcripſimus. Fig

244



245

246



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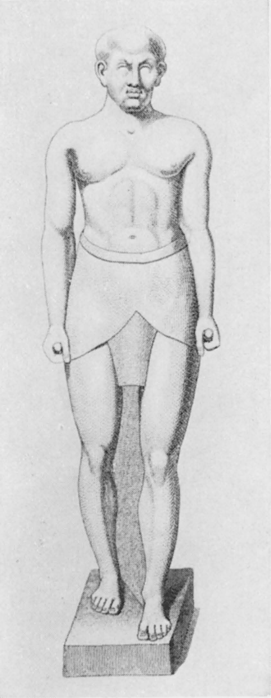

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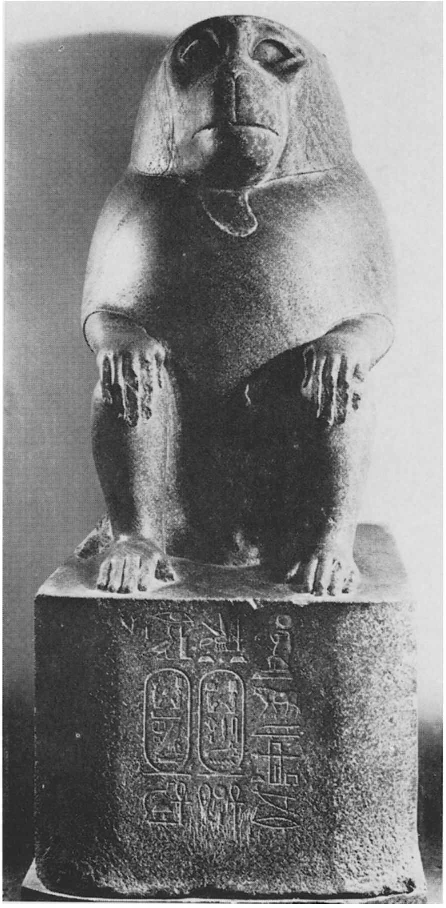

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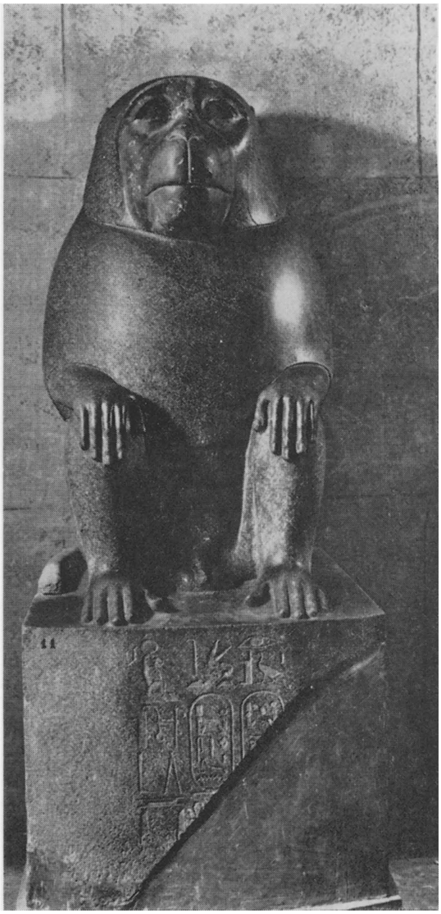

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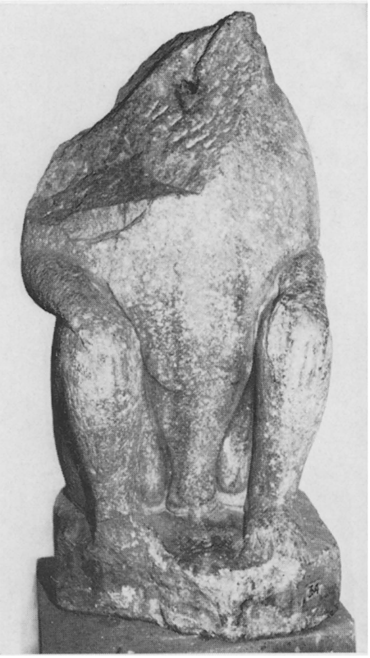

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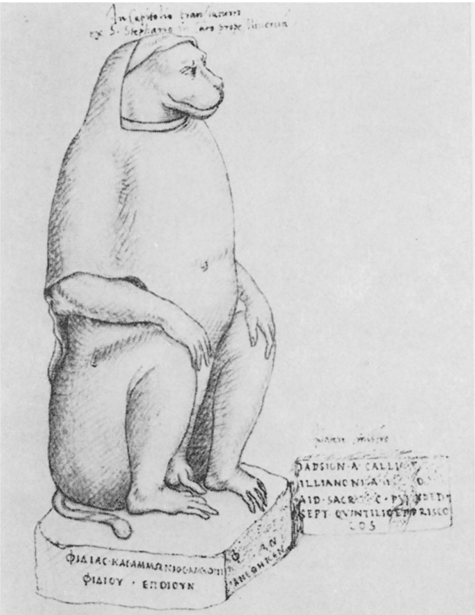
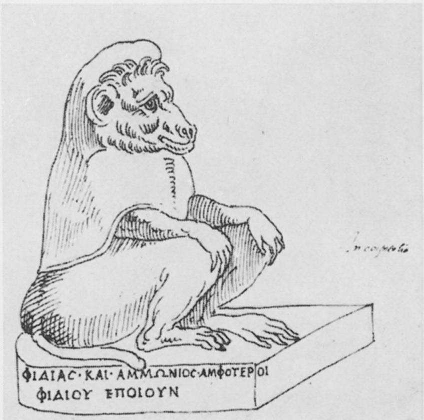
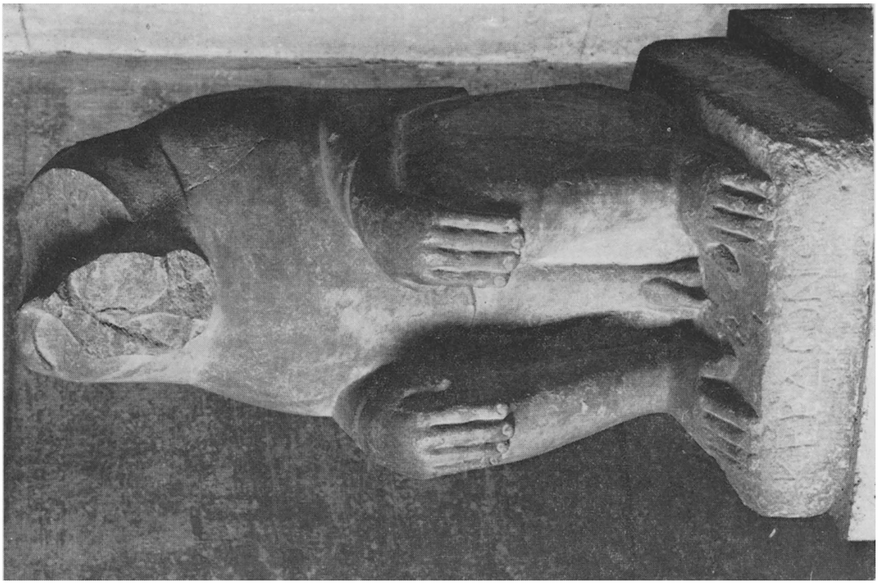

In Capitolio translatum
ex S. Stephano in Caco prope Minervam
ΦΙΔΙΑC·ΚΑΙ·ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟC·ΑΜΦΟΤΙ
ΦΙΔΙΟΥ · ΕΠΟΙΟΥΝ
ΑΝ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ADSION·A·CALLI
ILLIANO NI
AID·SACR C·PU
SEPT·QVINTILIO ET PRISCO
COS

252


In capitolio
ΦΙΔΙΑC·ΚΑΙ·ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟC·ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡ ΟΙ
ΦΙΔΙΟΥ ΕΠΟΙΟΥΝ

253



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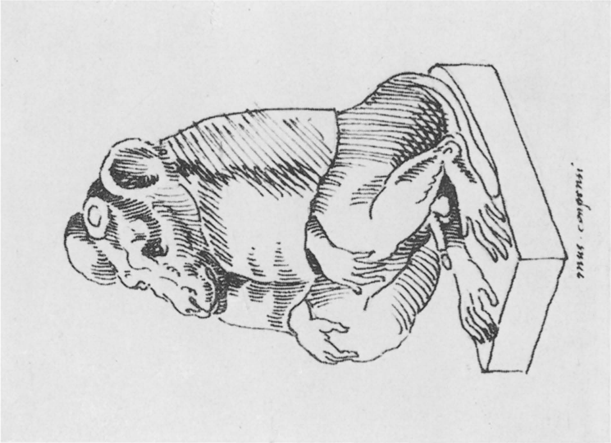
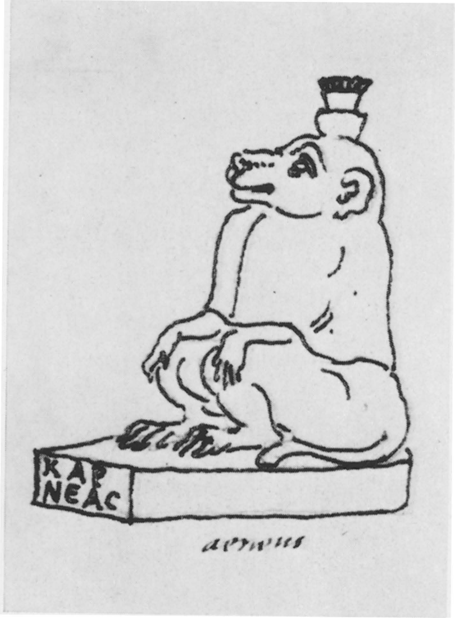
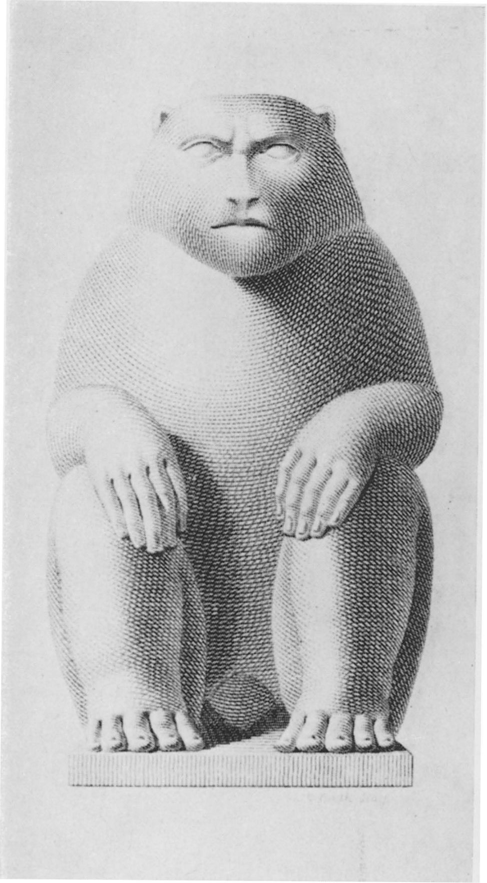

mus · cmpensi

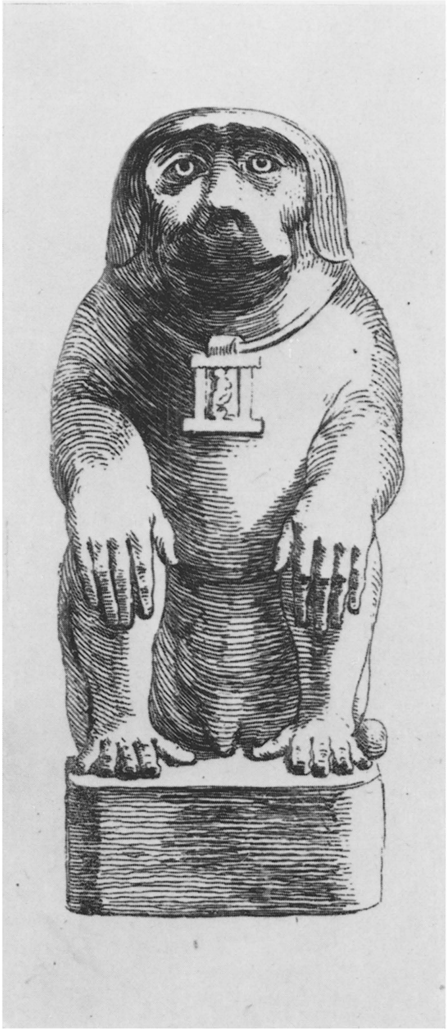
254


KAP
NEAC
aeneus

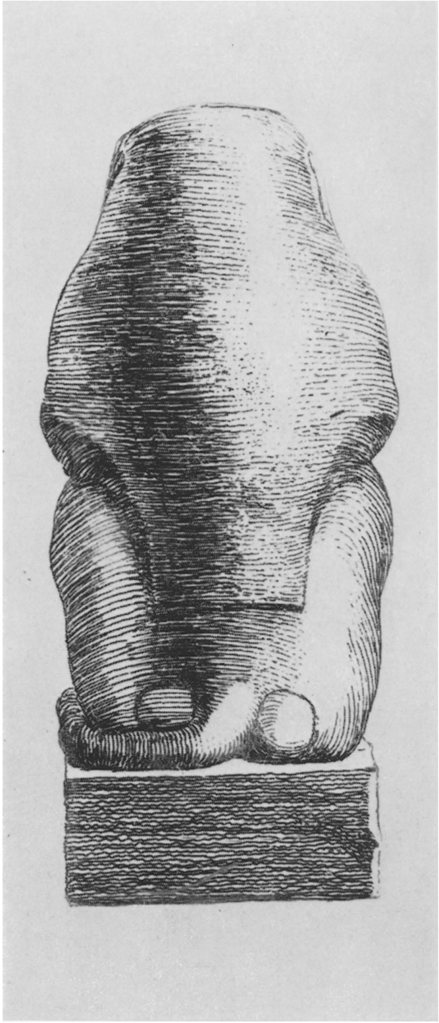
256



257



258



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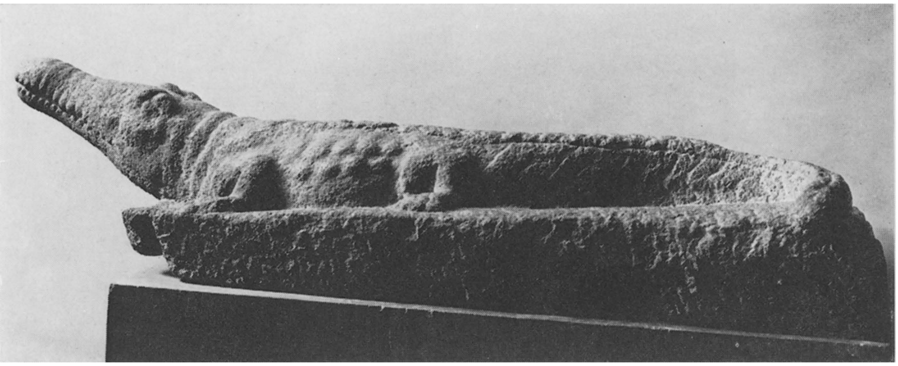

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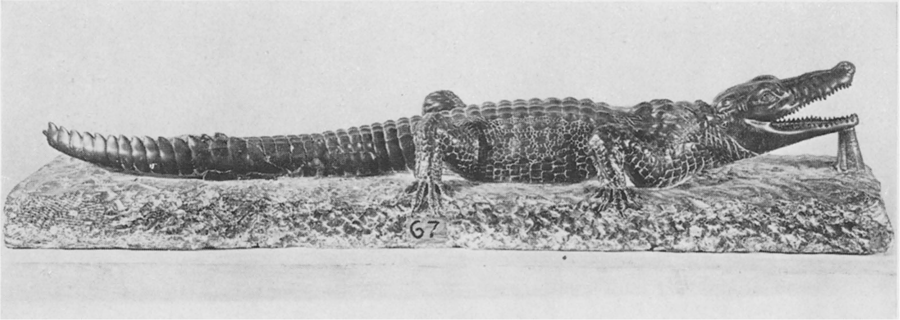
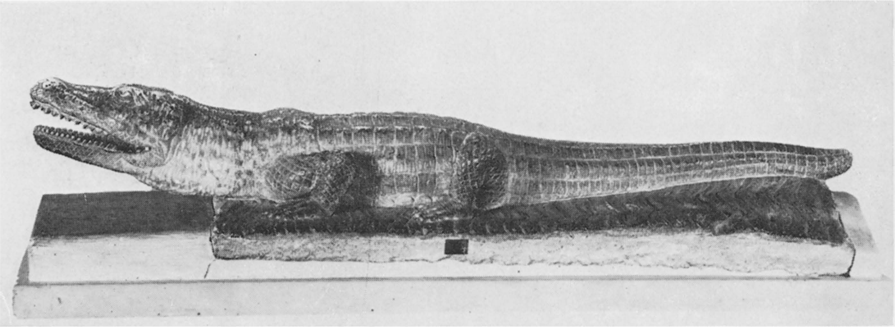
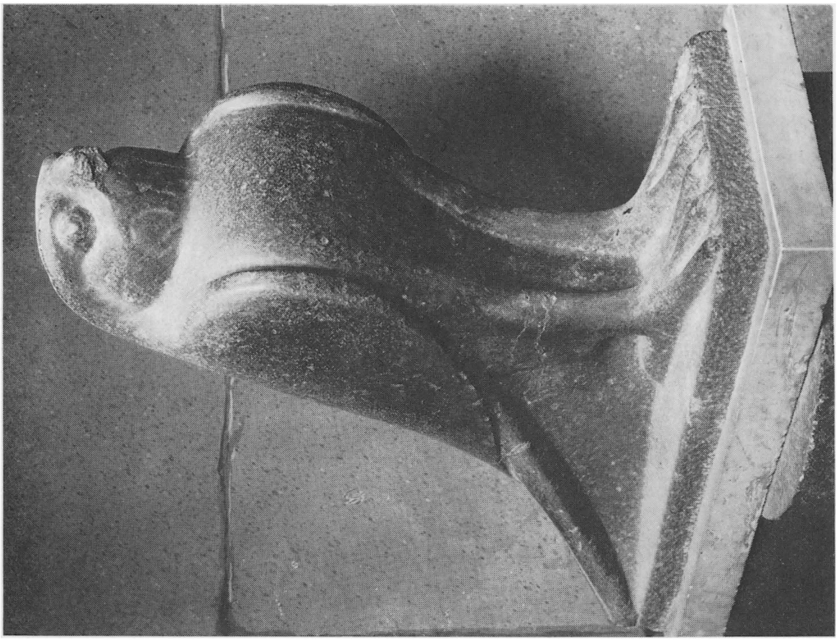


261



262

PLATE CLXXIX



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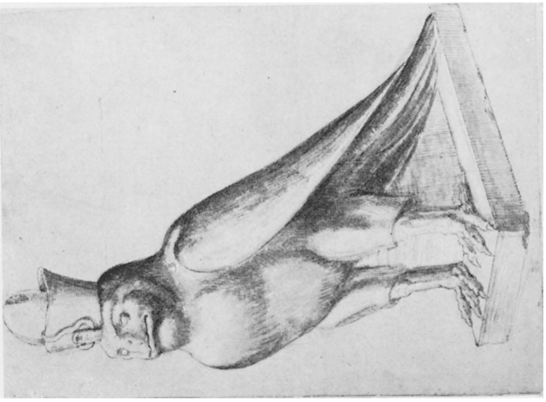
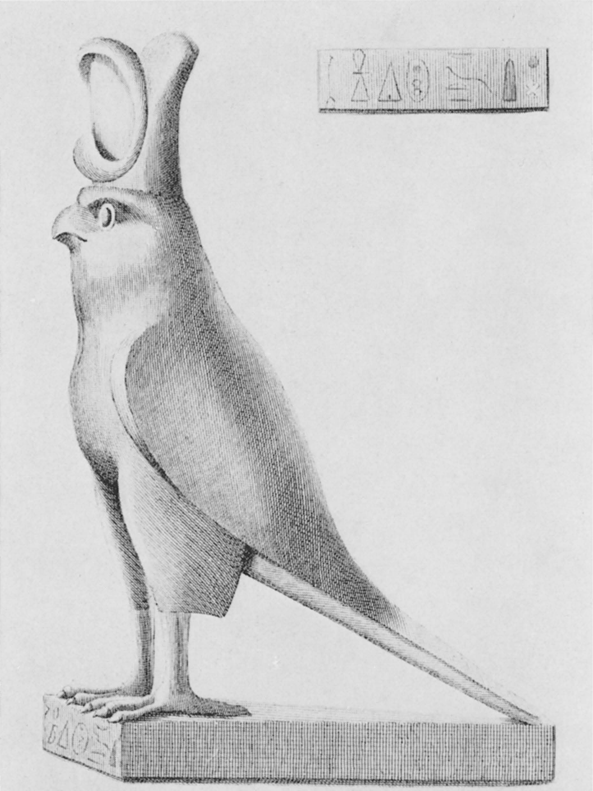


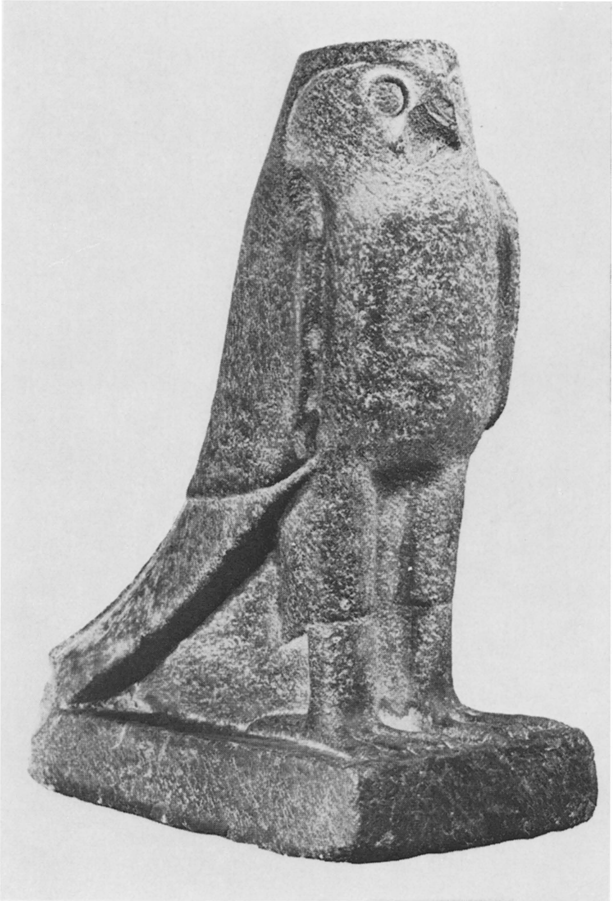
263

Plate CLXXX



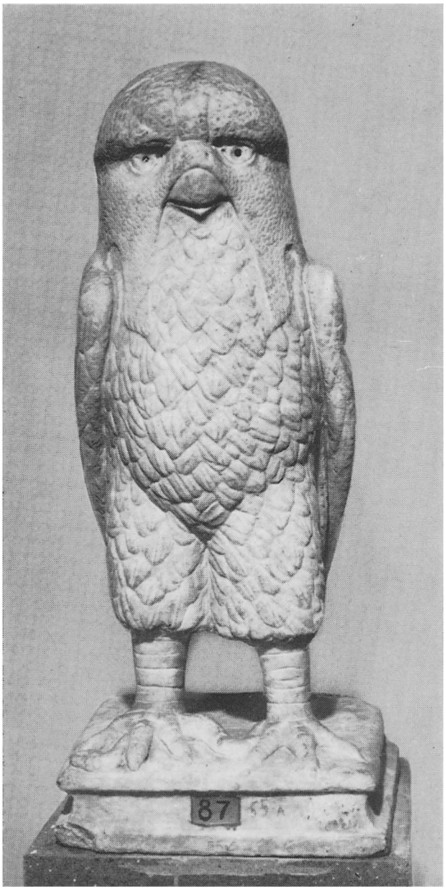
A COCK, AND EGYPTIAN IDOL.

Plate CLXXXI

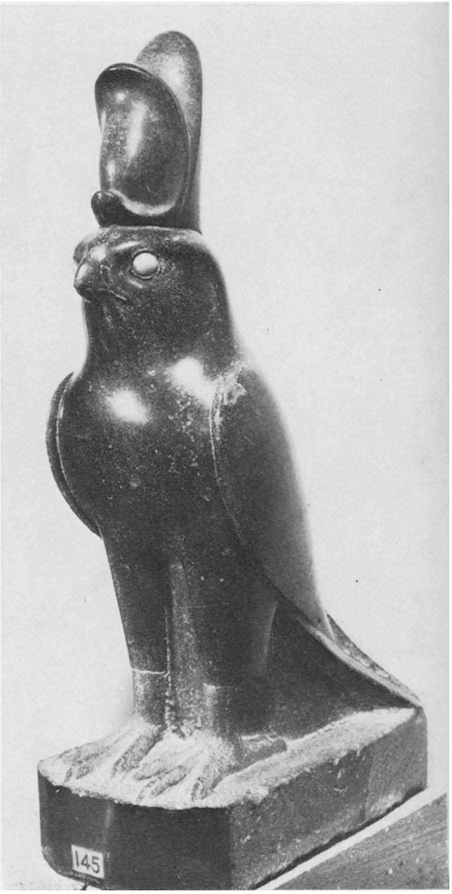


266

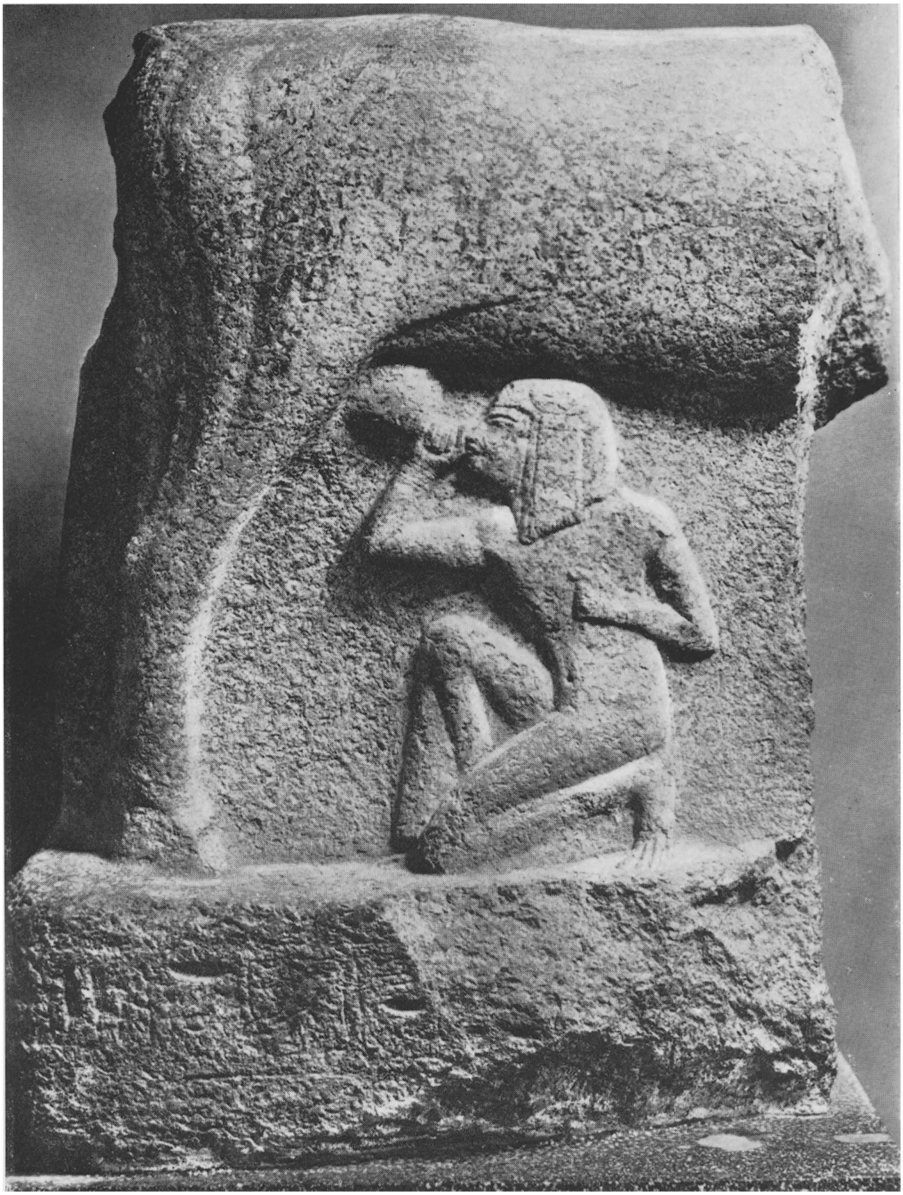
PLATE CLXXXII

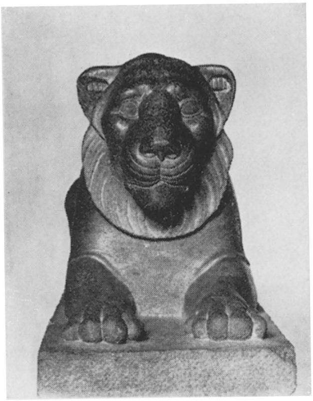


267

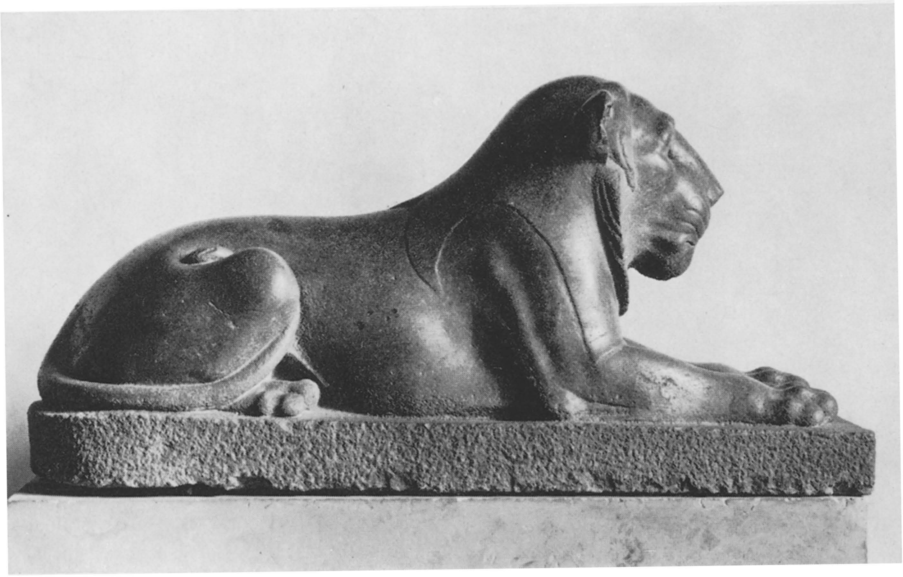


268





270



271

Plate CLXXXV

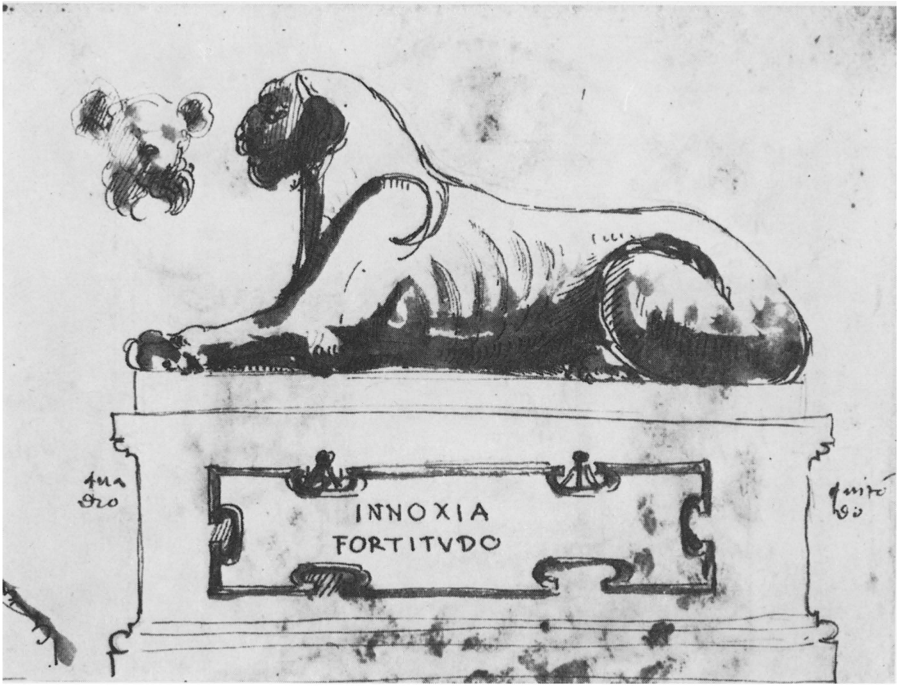
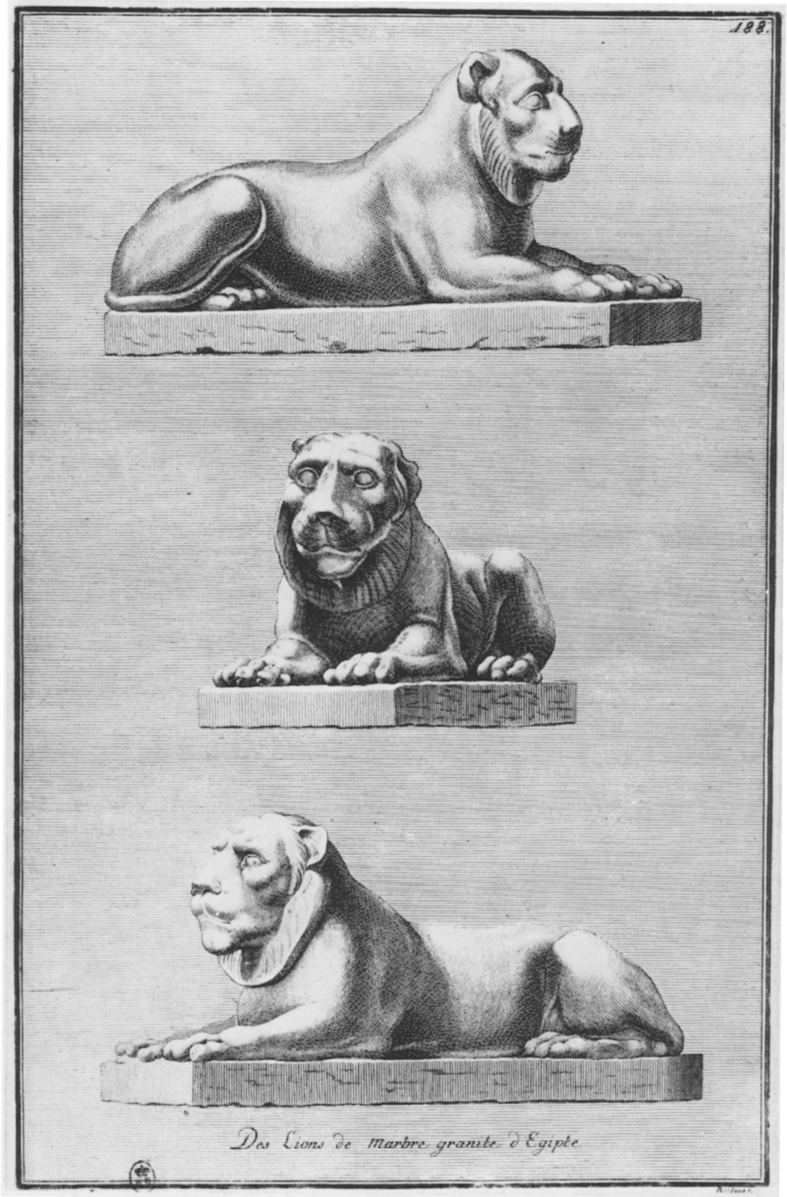
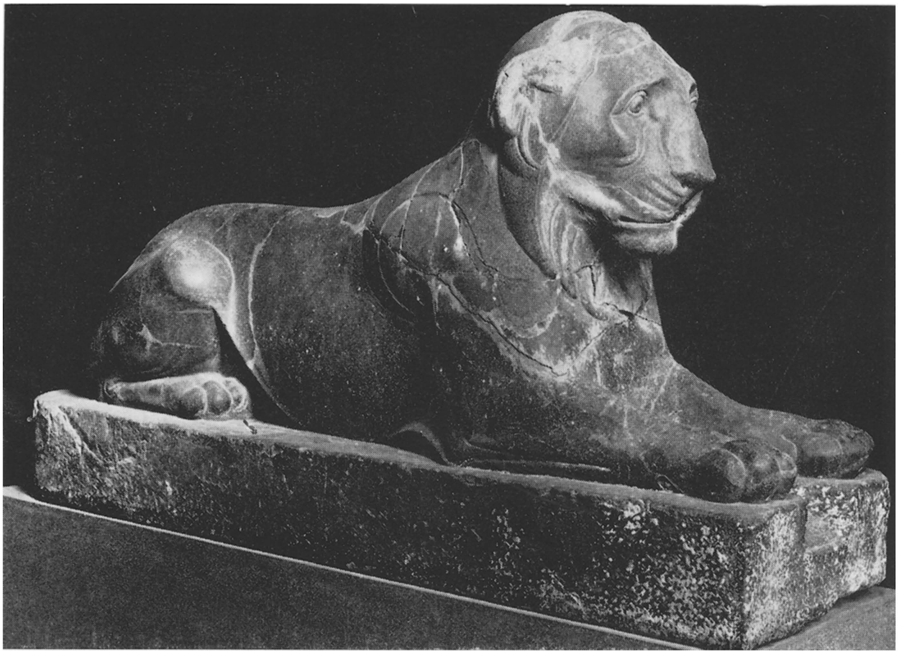

qua
dro
INNOXIA
FORTITVDO
quito
do

PLATE CLXXXVI


188.
Des Lions de marbre granite d'Egipte



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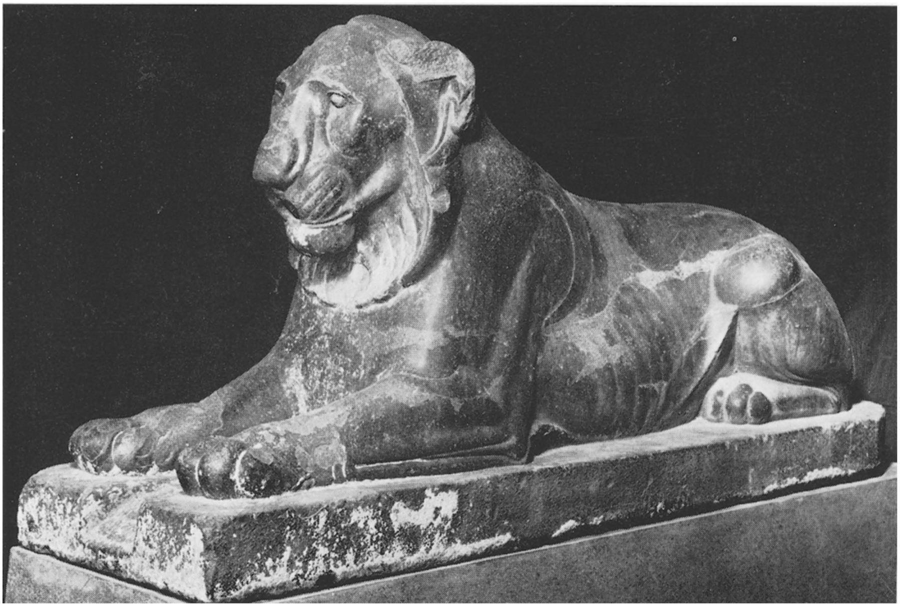
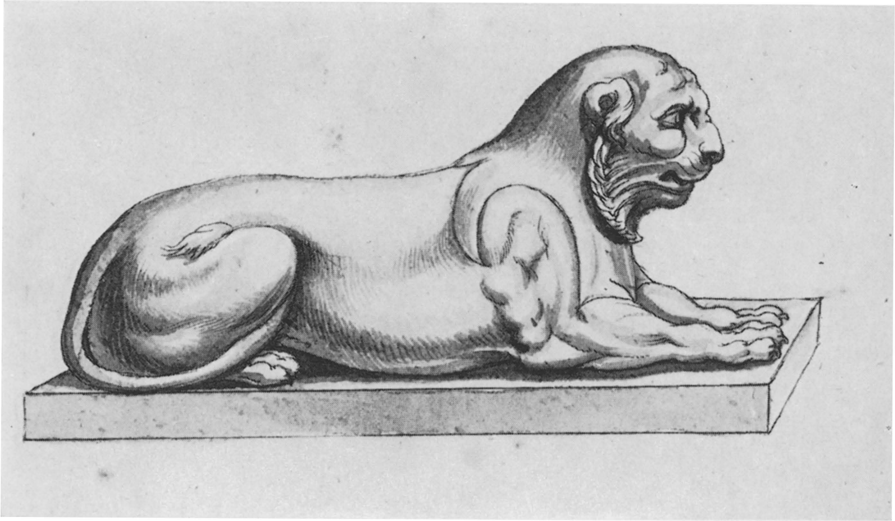


275

Plate CLXXXVIII



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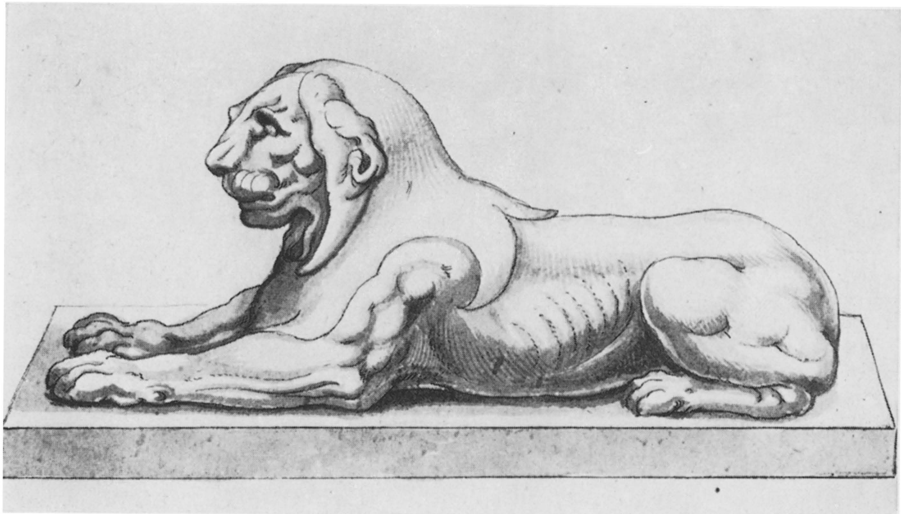

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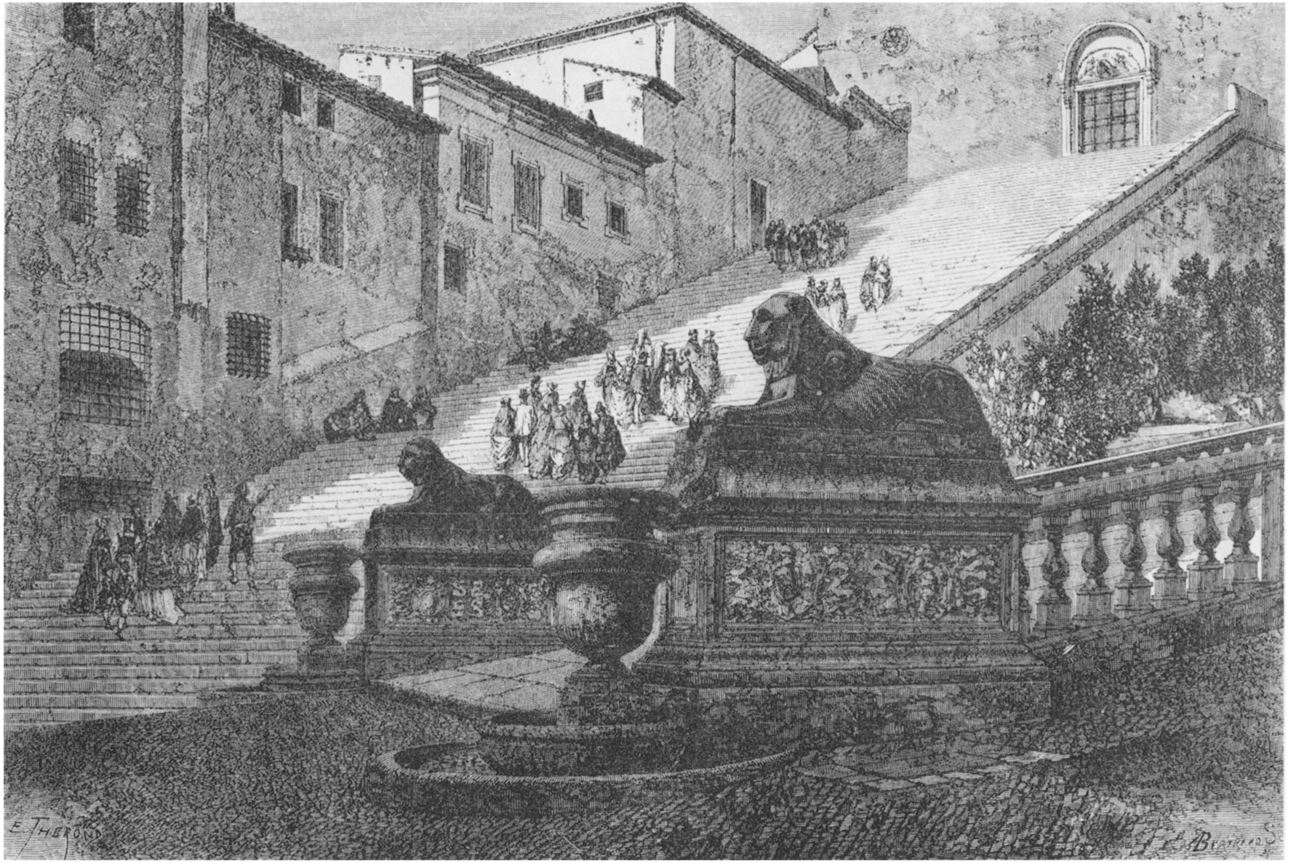
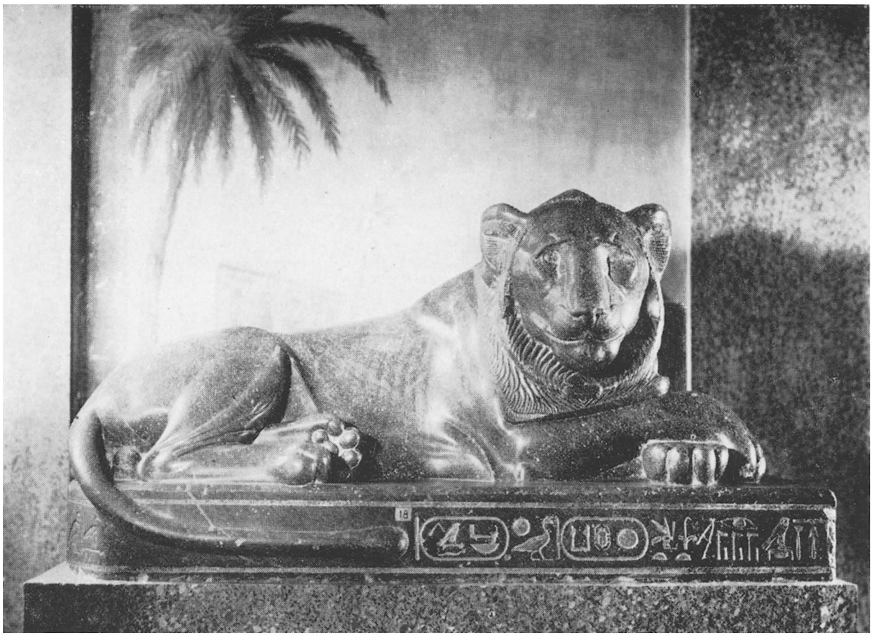

E. THÉROND

PLATE CXC



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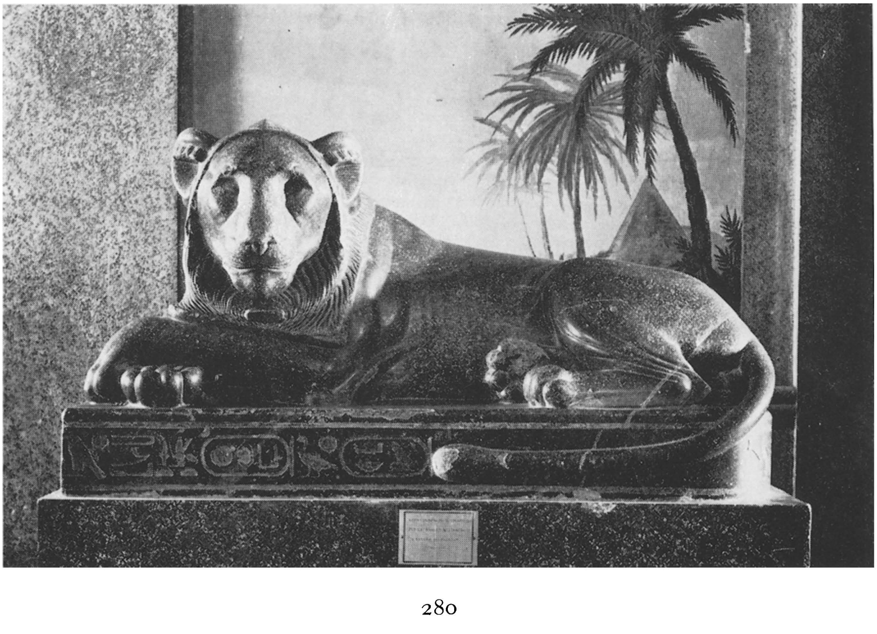


280

PLATE CXCI

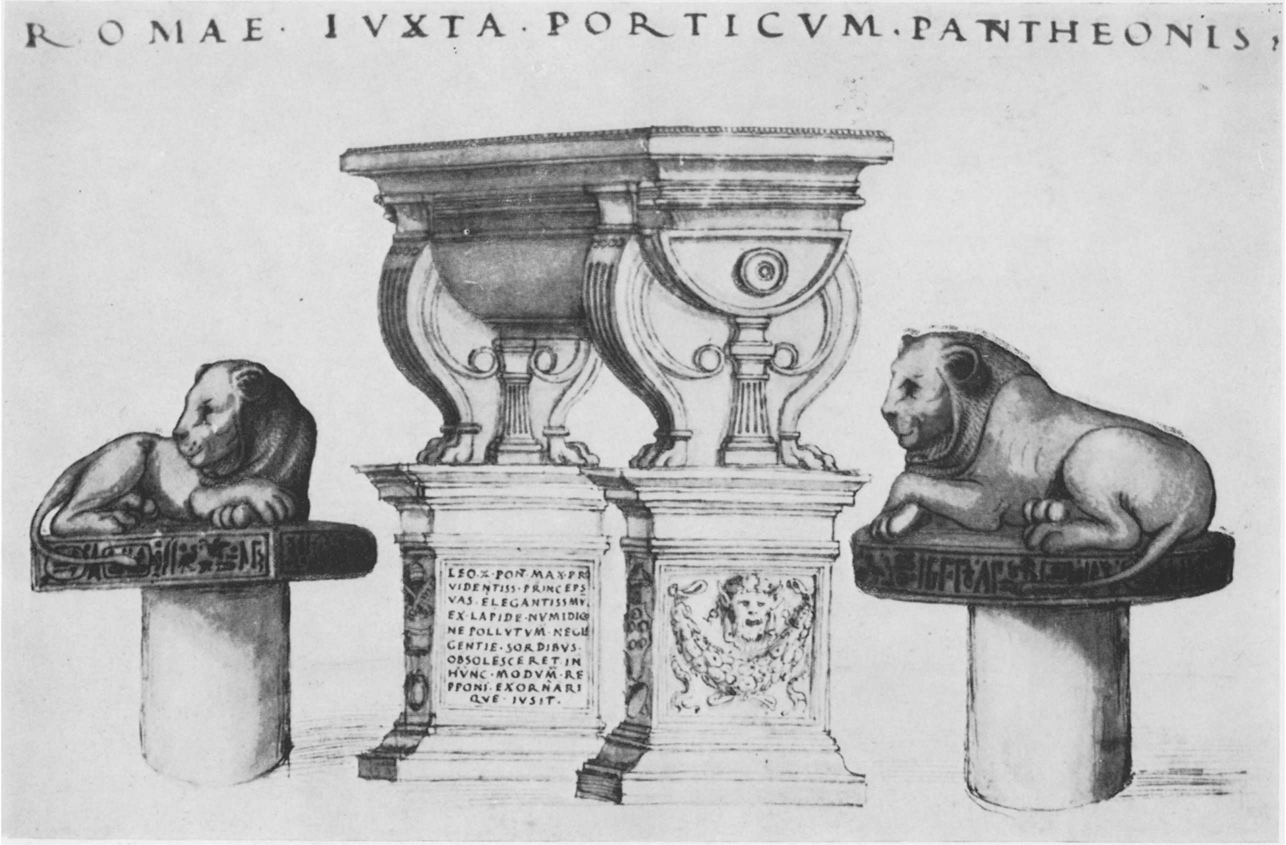

ROMAE · IVXTA · PORTICVM · PANTHEONIS,
LEO · X · PONT · MAX · PRO
VIDENTISS · PRINCEPS
VAS · ELEGANTISSMV
EX · LAPIDE · NVMIDICO
NE POLLVTVM · NEGLI
GENTIE · SORDIBVS ·
OBSOLESCERET · IN
HVNC · MODVM · RE
PPONI · EXORNARI
QVE · IVSIT ·

Plate CXCII

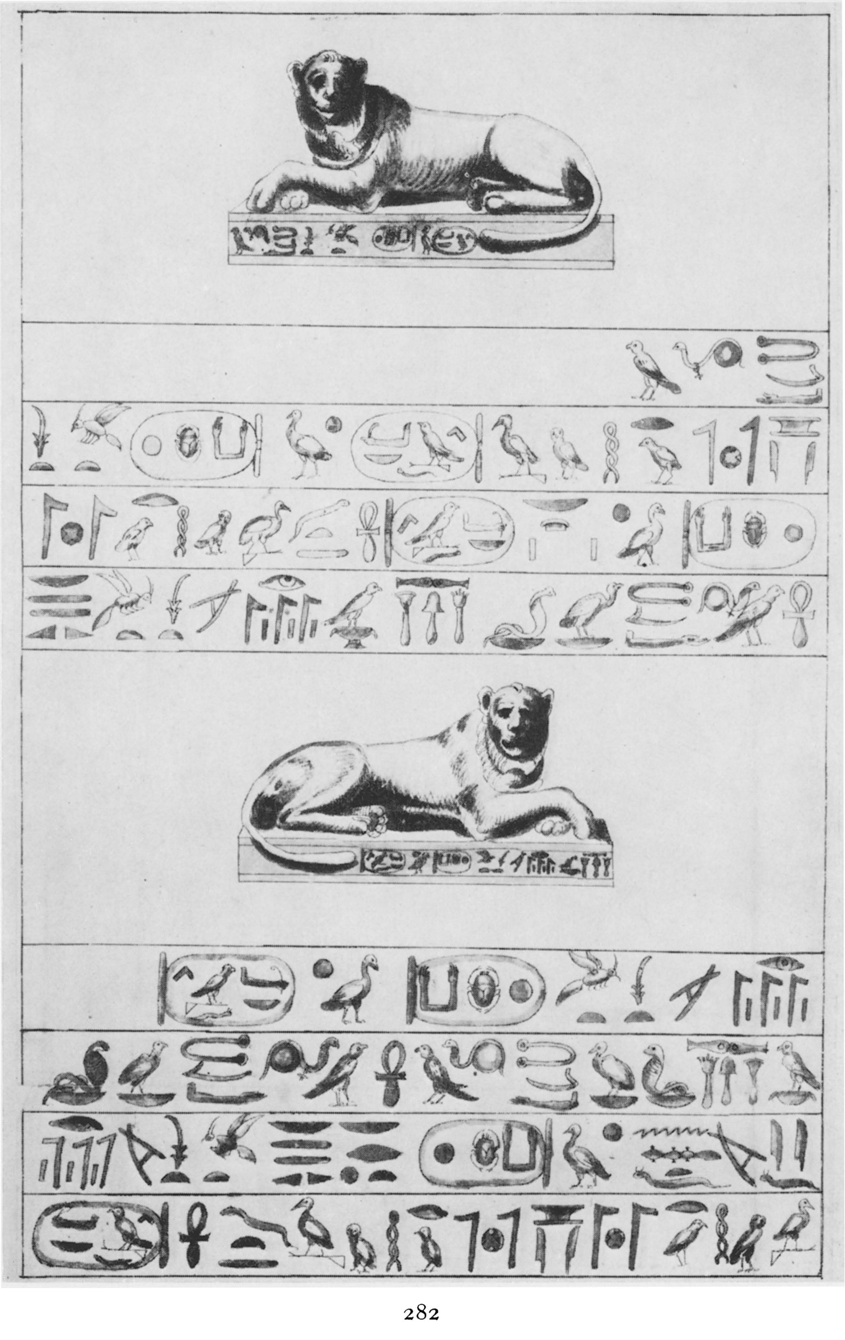


PLATE CXCIII

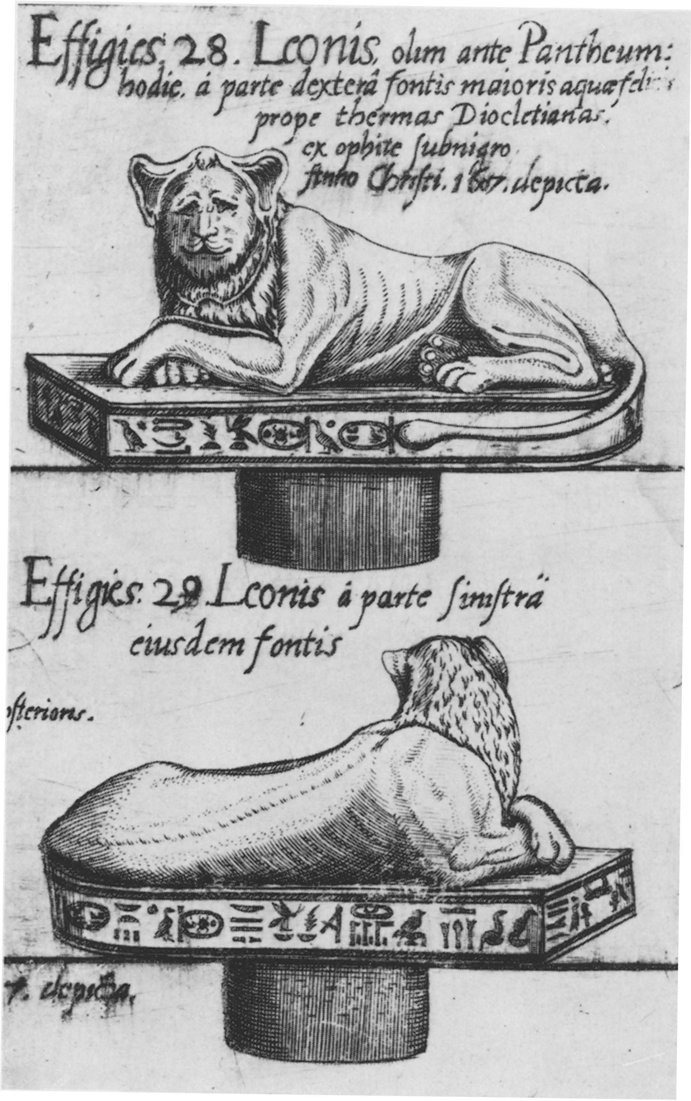

Effigies. 28. Leonis. olim ante Pantheum:
hodie. à parte dexterâ fontis maioris aquæ feli
prope thermas Diocletianas.
ex ophite ſubnigro
Anno Chriſti. 1607. depicta.
Effigies. 29 Leonis à parte ſiniſtrâ
eiusdem fontis
ſterioris.
7. depicta.

PLATE CXCIV

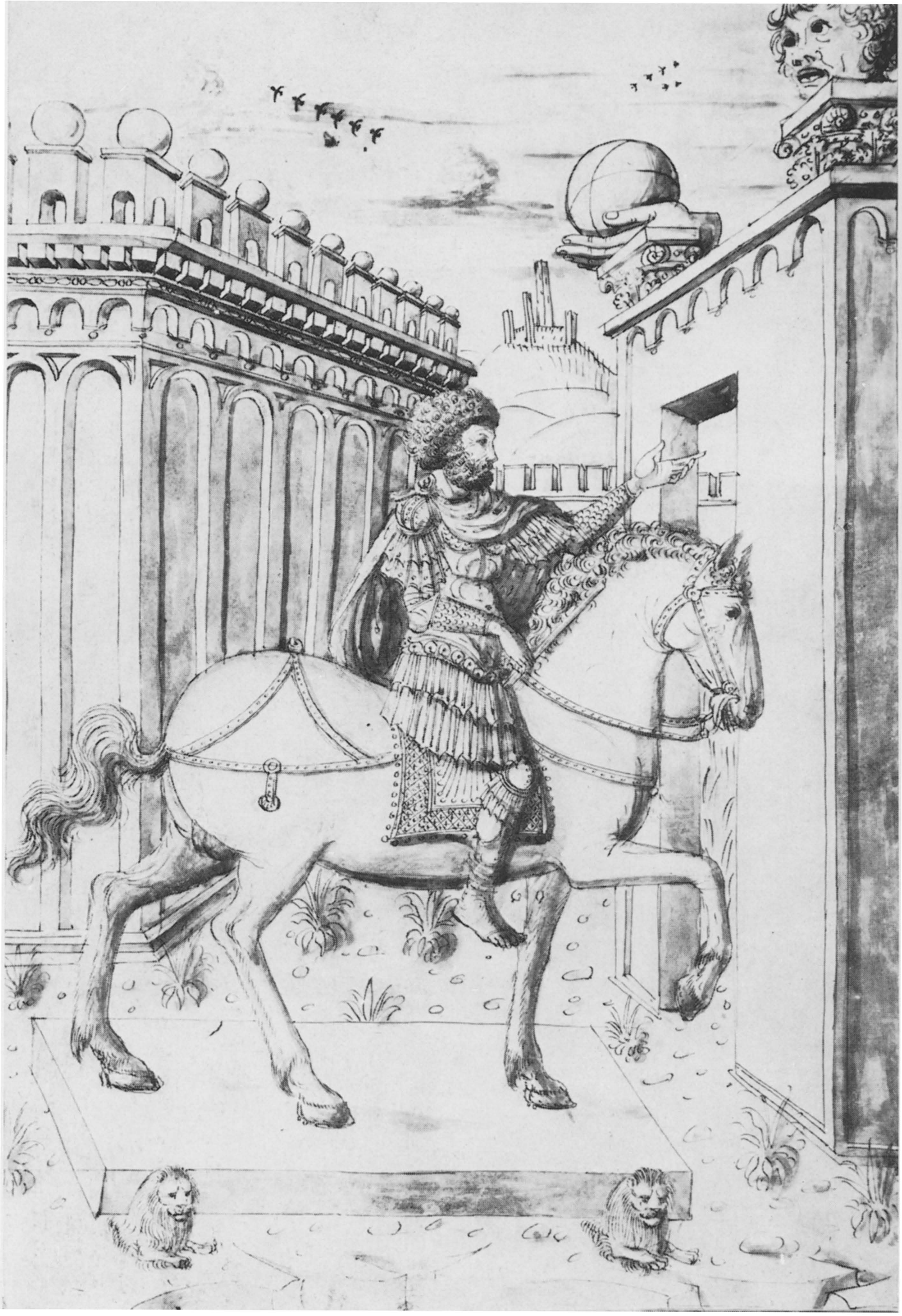


PLATE CXCV

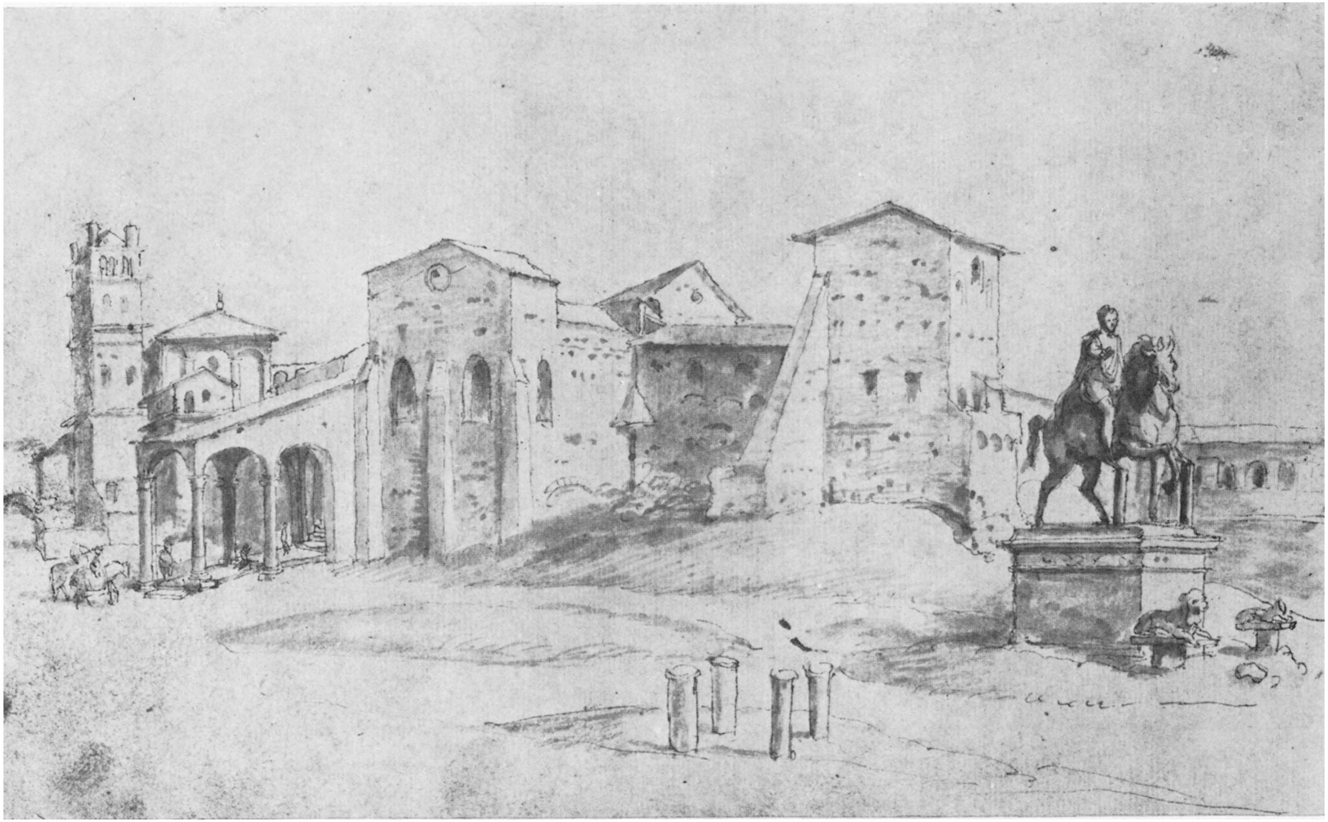
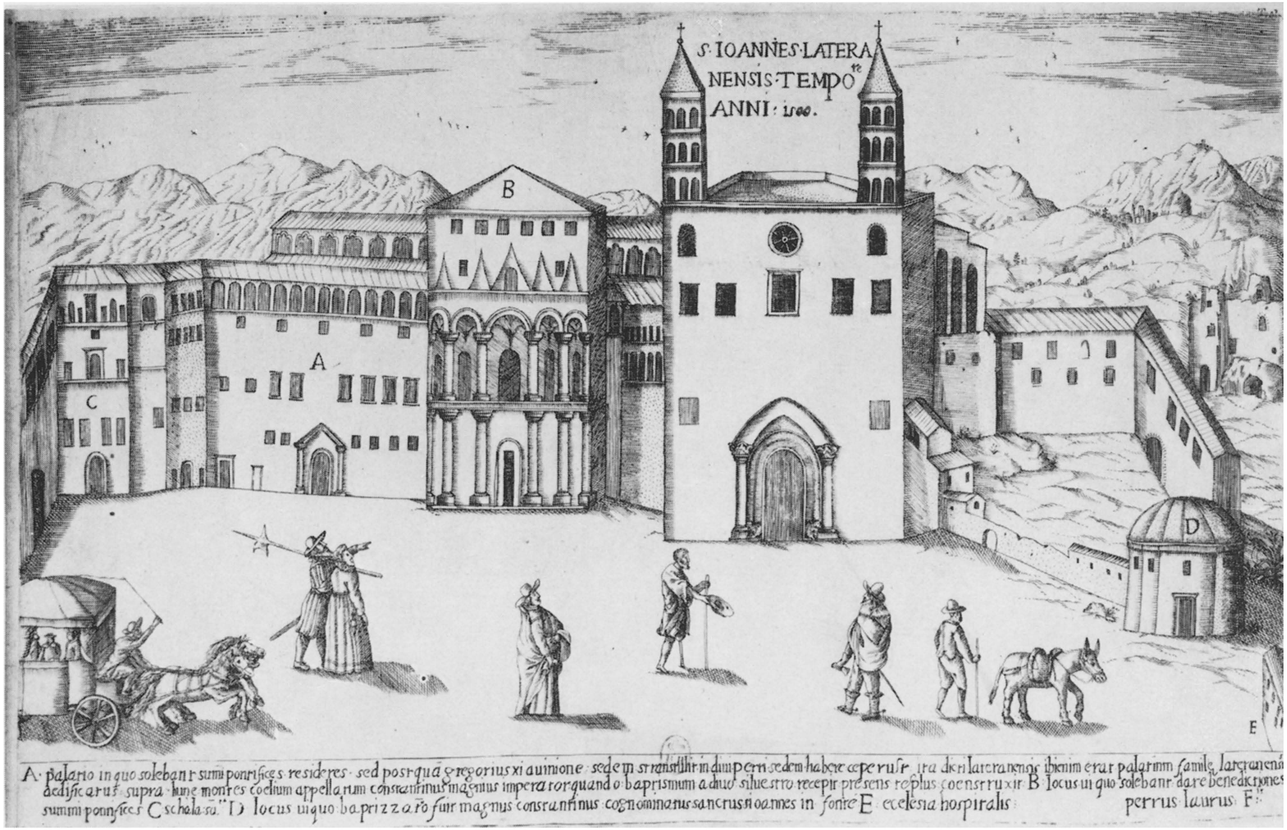
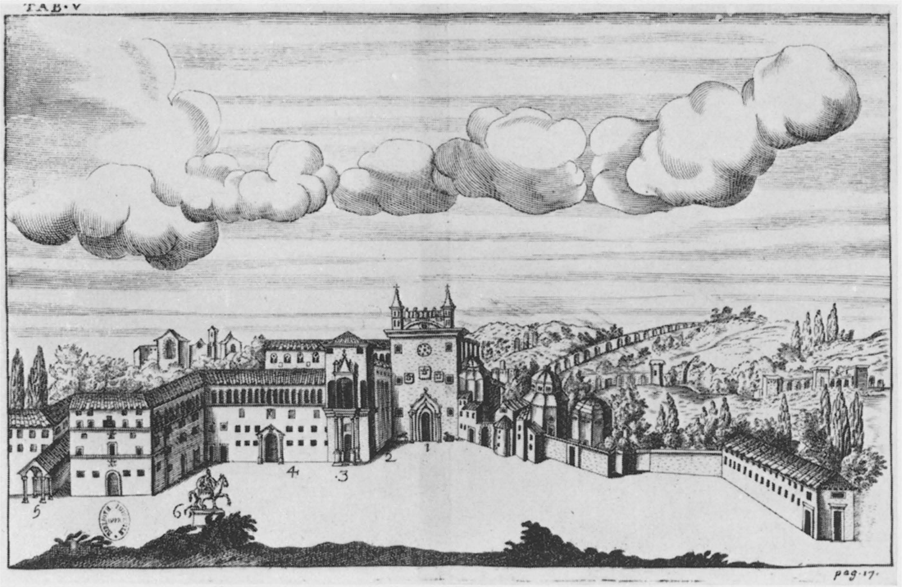
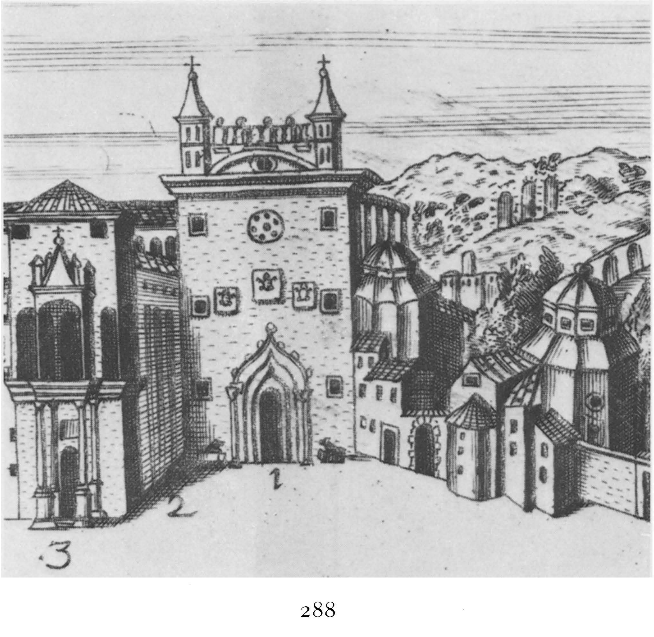


Plate CXCVI


S· IOANNES·LATERA
NENSIS·TEMPO^te
ANNI: 1500.
A
B
C
D
E
A· palatio in quo solebant summi pontifices resideres · sed postquā gregorius xi auinione sedem transtulit in dim perii sedem habere cepe rust ita dicti lateranensis ibienim erat palatium famile lateranensis
aedificatus supra hunc montes coelium appellatum constantinus magnus imperator quando baptismum a diuo siluestro recepit presens templus construxit B locus in quo solebant dare benedictiones
summi pontifices C schala sā. D locus in quo baptizzato fuit magnus constantinus cognominatus sanctus ioannes in fonte E ecclesia hospitalis
petrus laurus F.

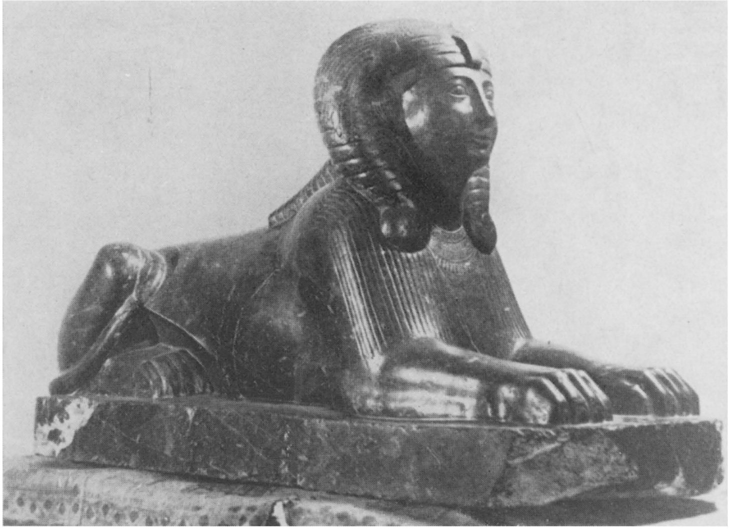

TAB·V
1
2
3
4
5
6
pag·17.

287

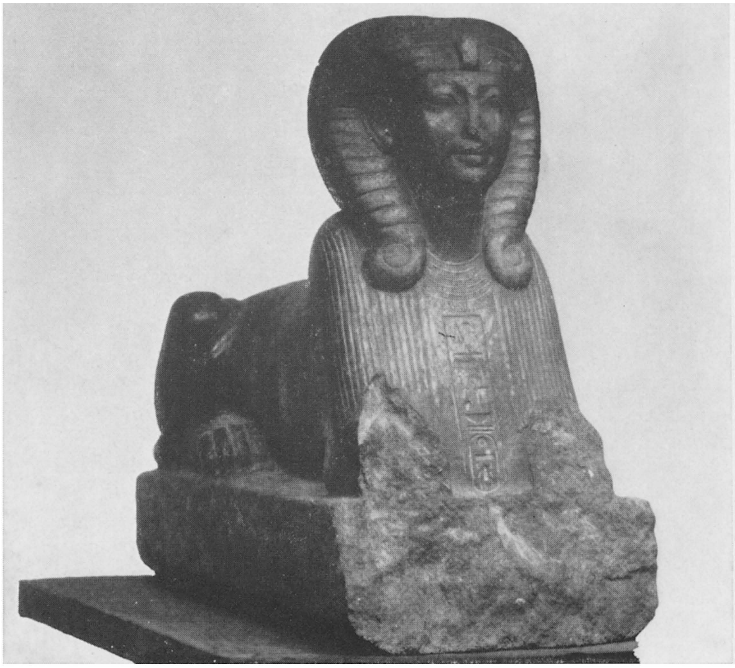


288

PLATE CXCVIII



289



290

PLATE CXCIX

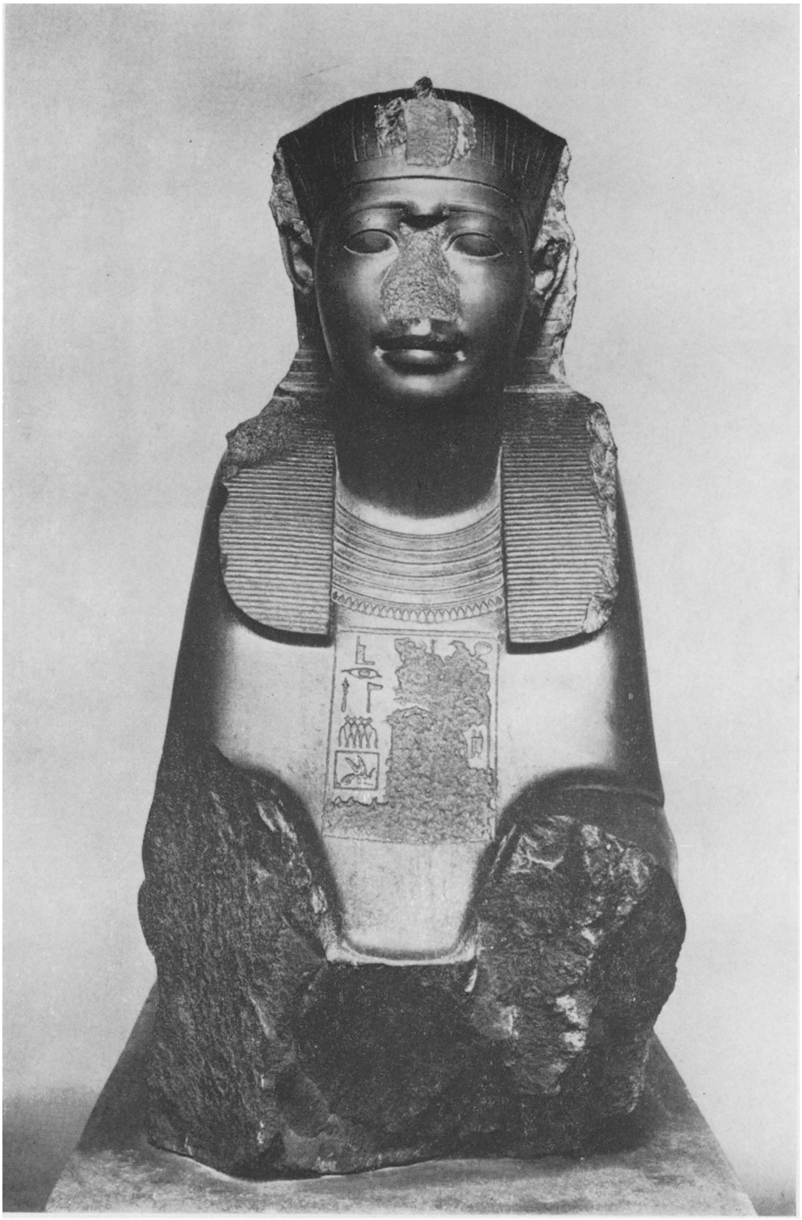
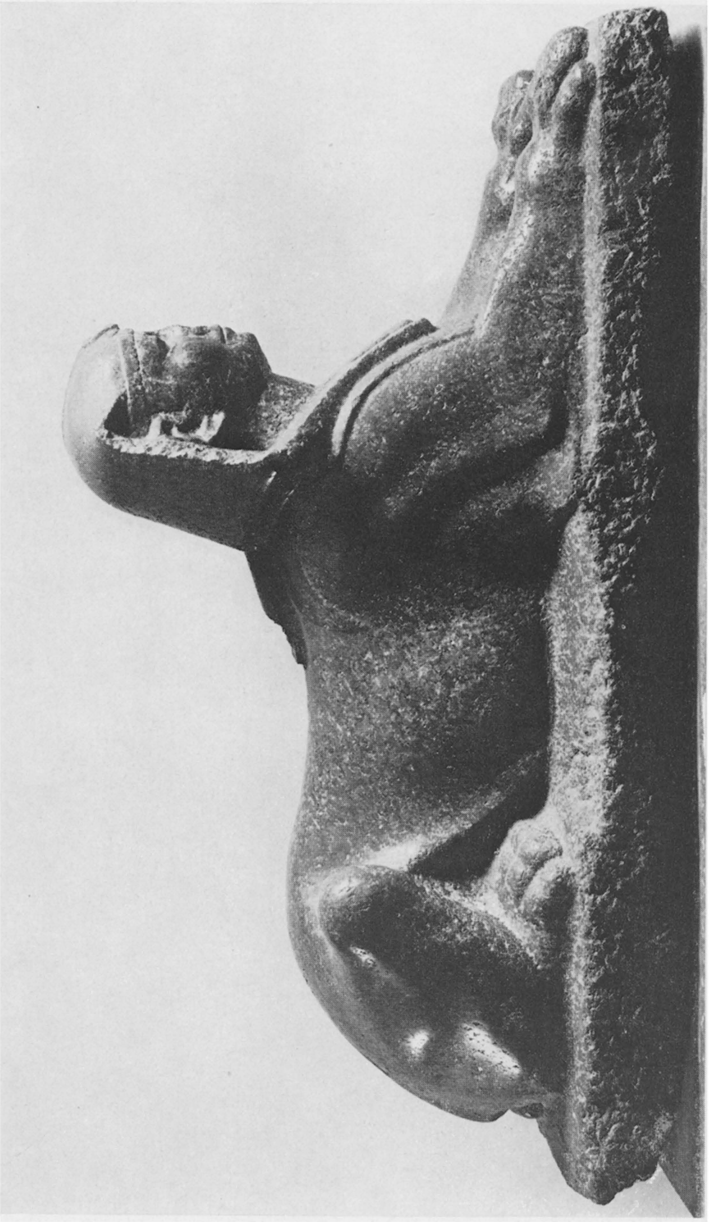
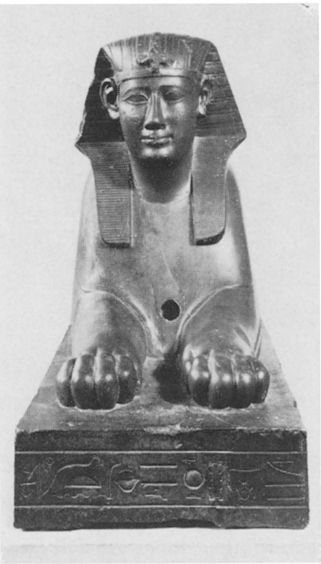


PLATE CC



292



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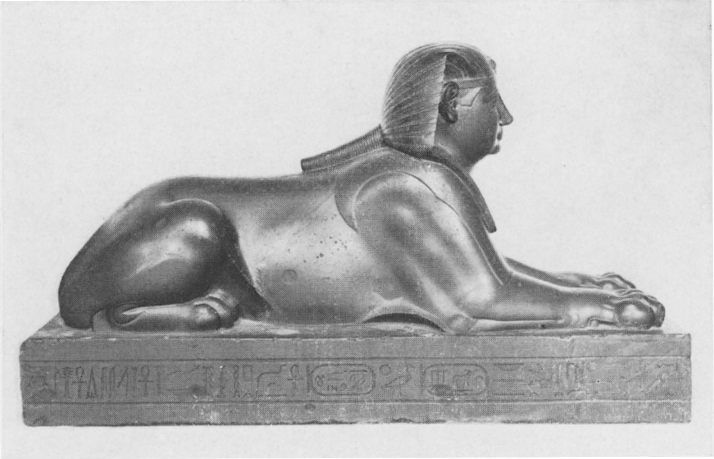

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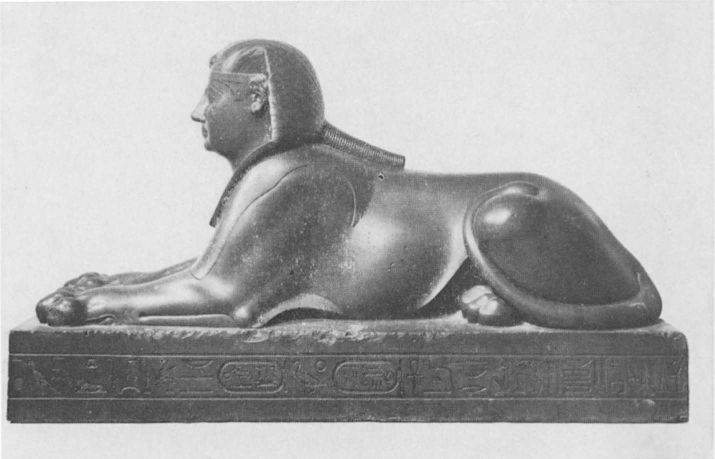
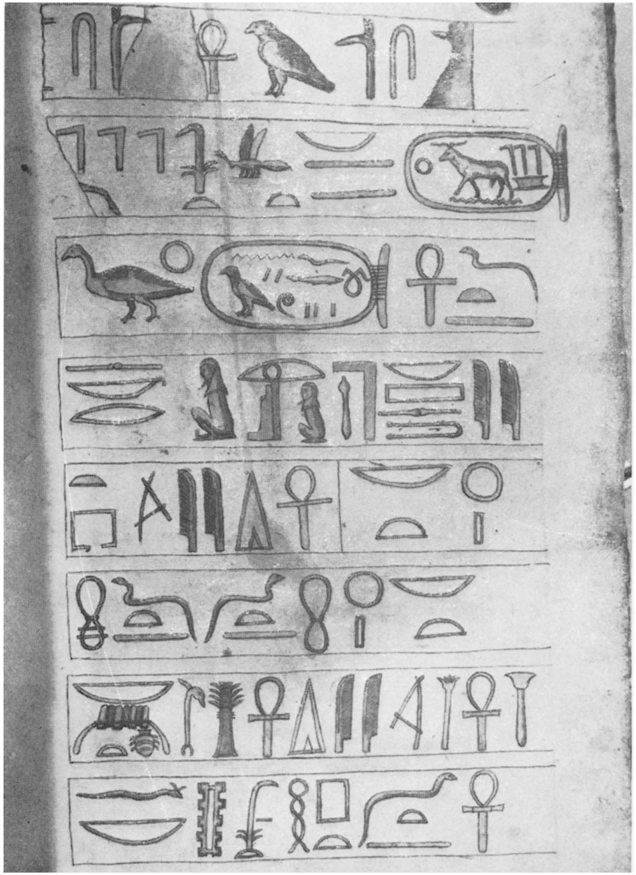


295

PLATE CCII



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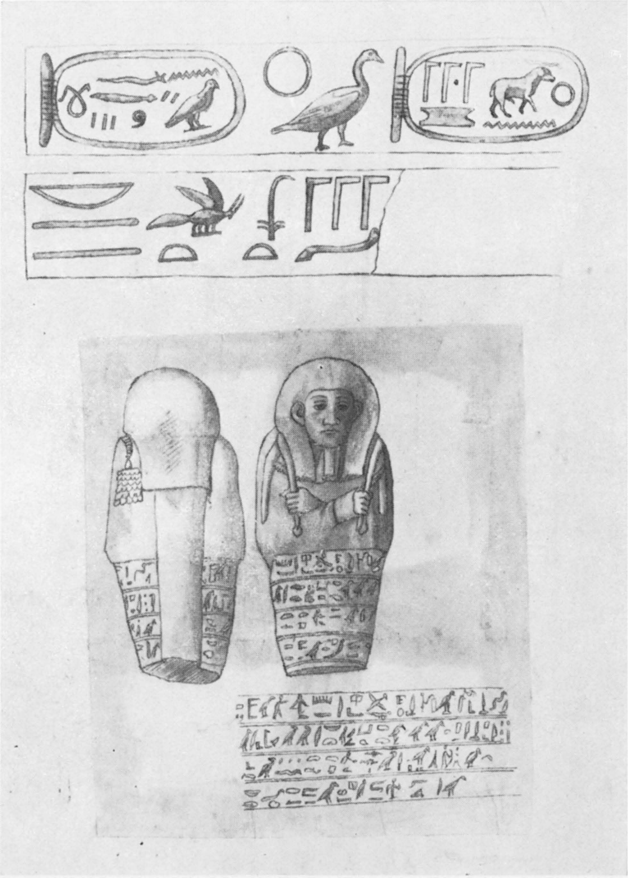

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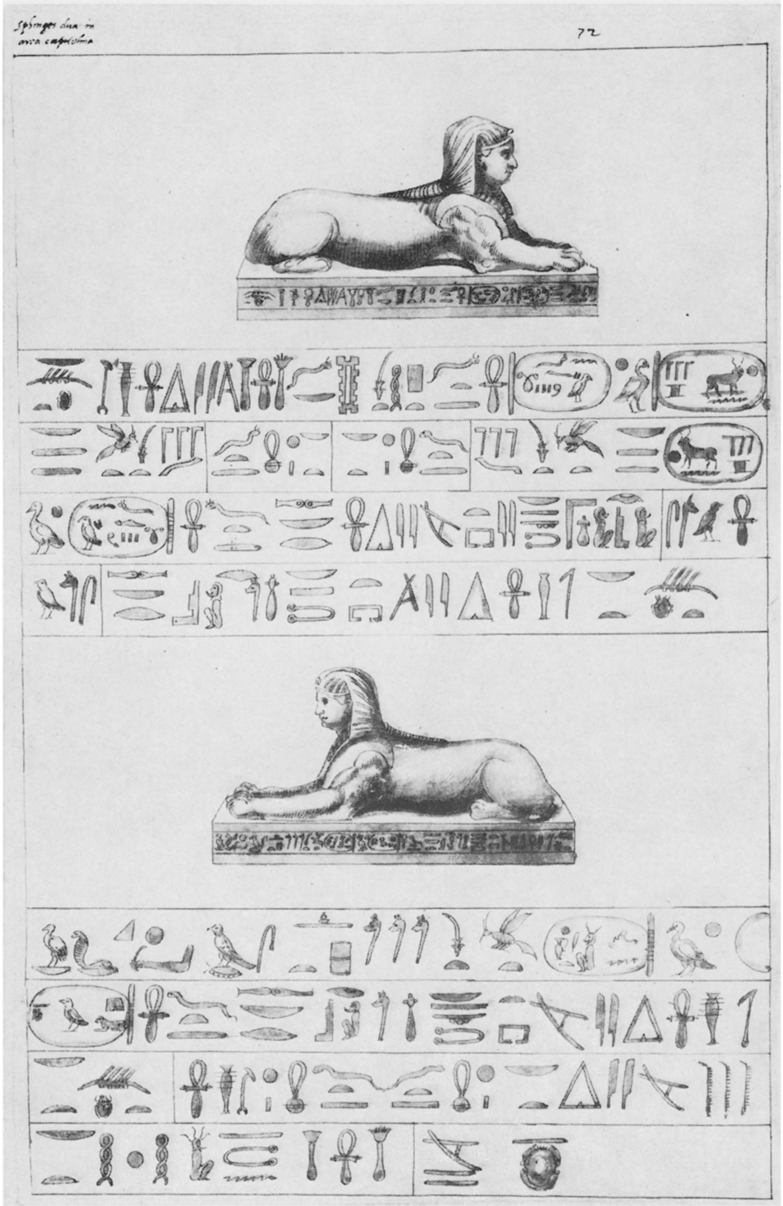
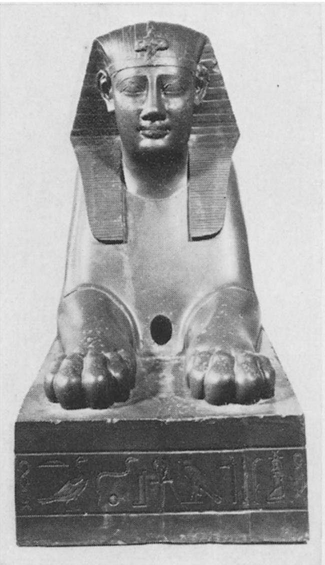
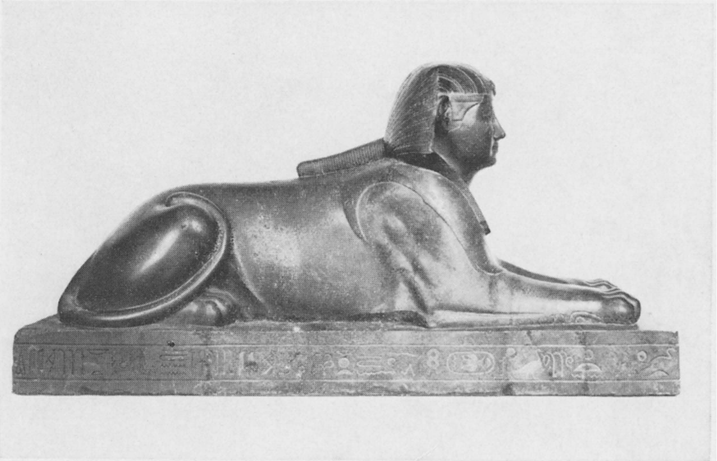

Sphinges duæ in
area capitolina
72

PLATE CCIV



299



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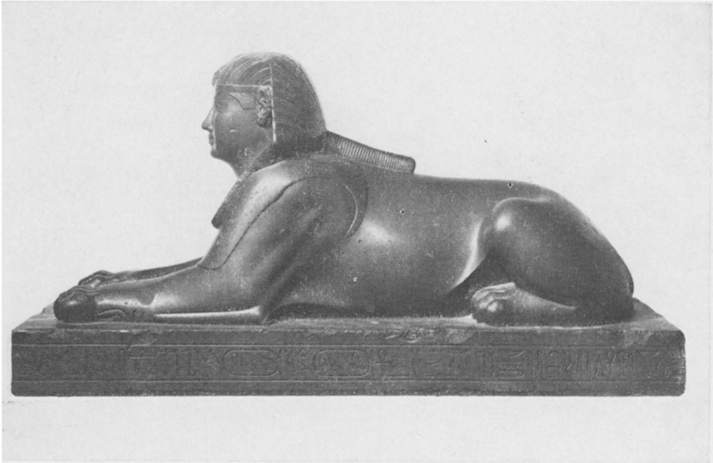


301

PLATE CCV

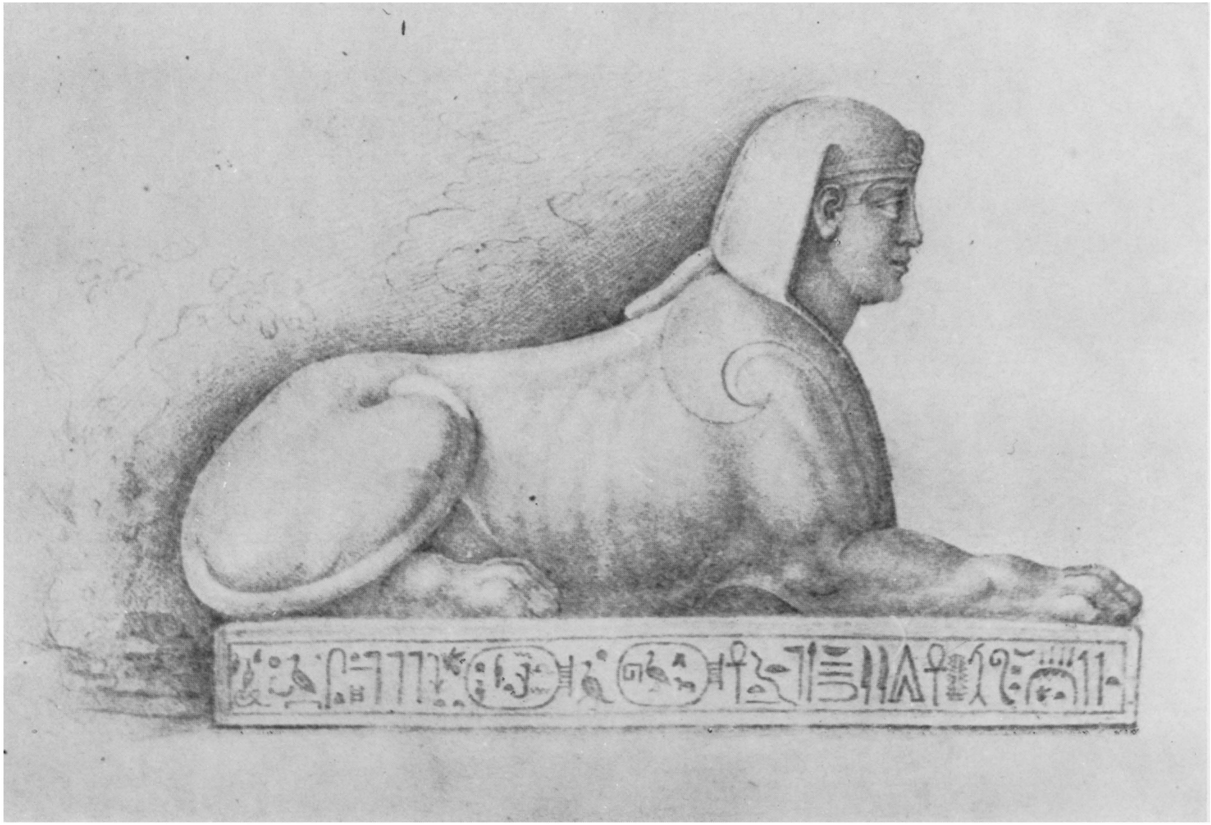
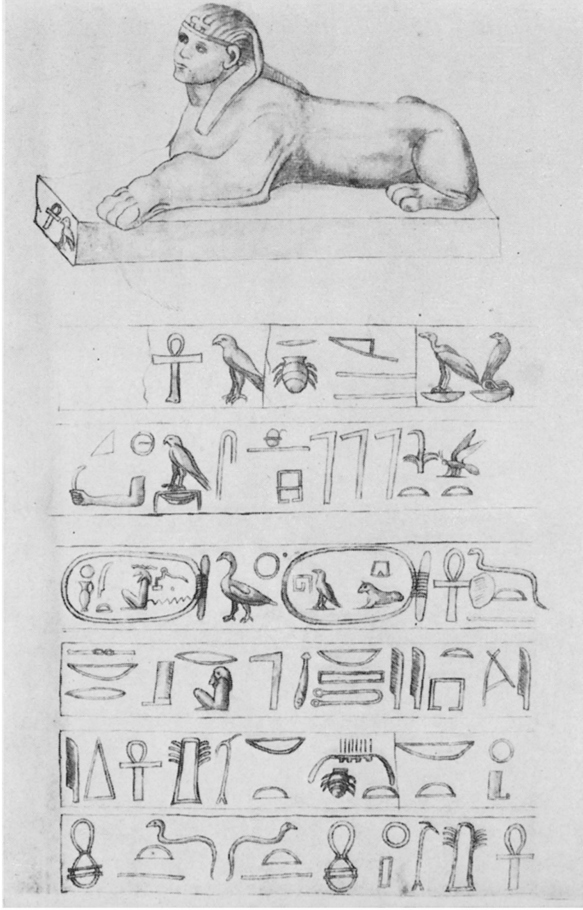


PLATE CCVI



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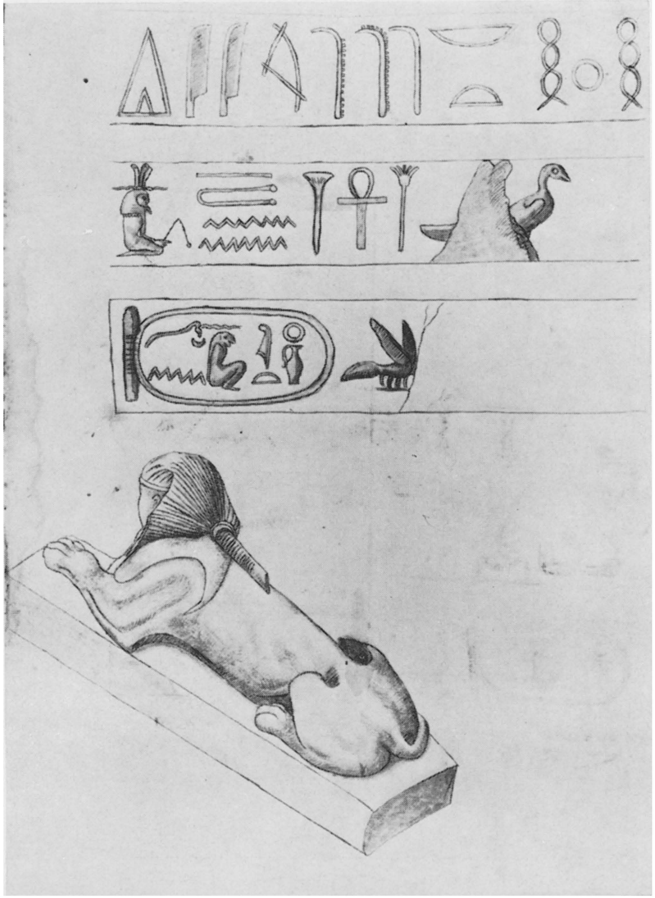

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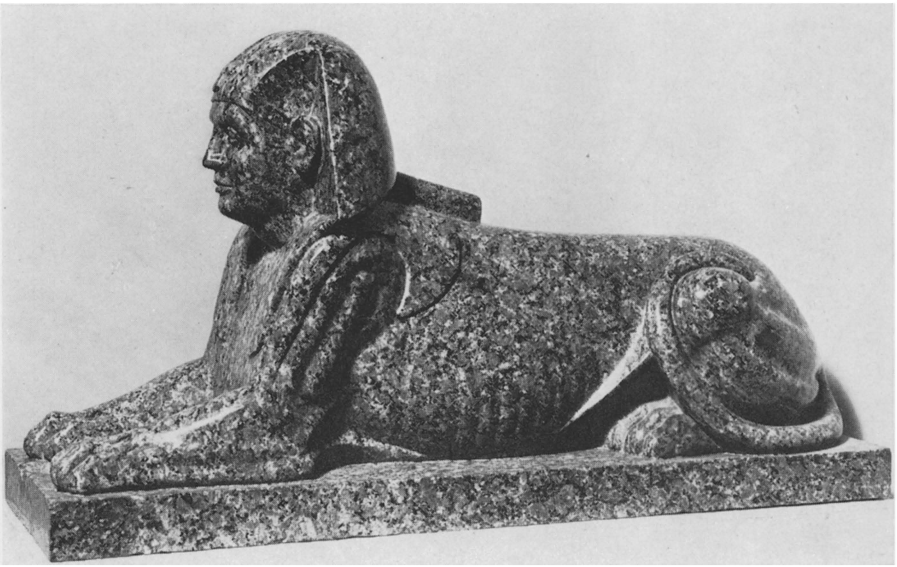
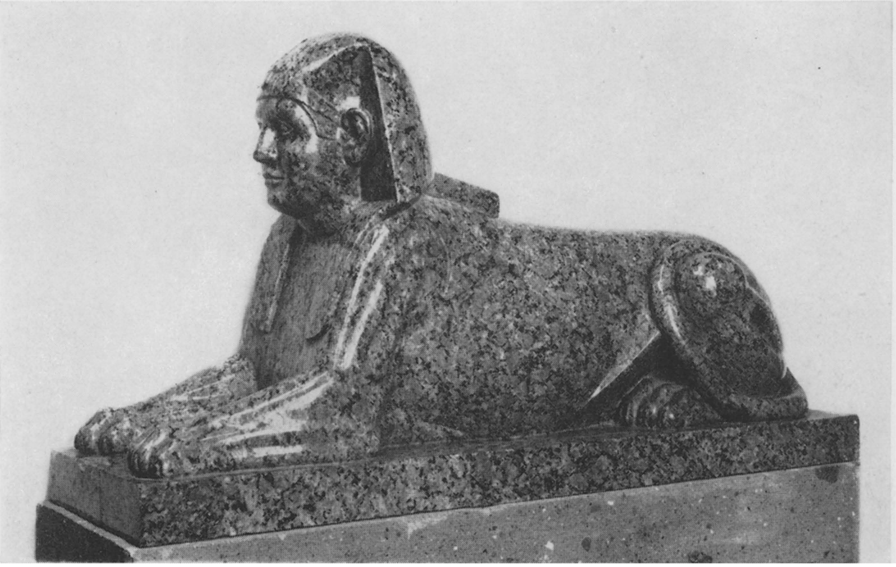
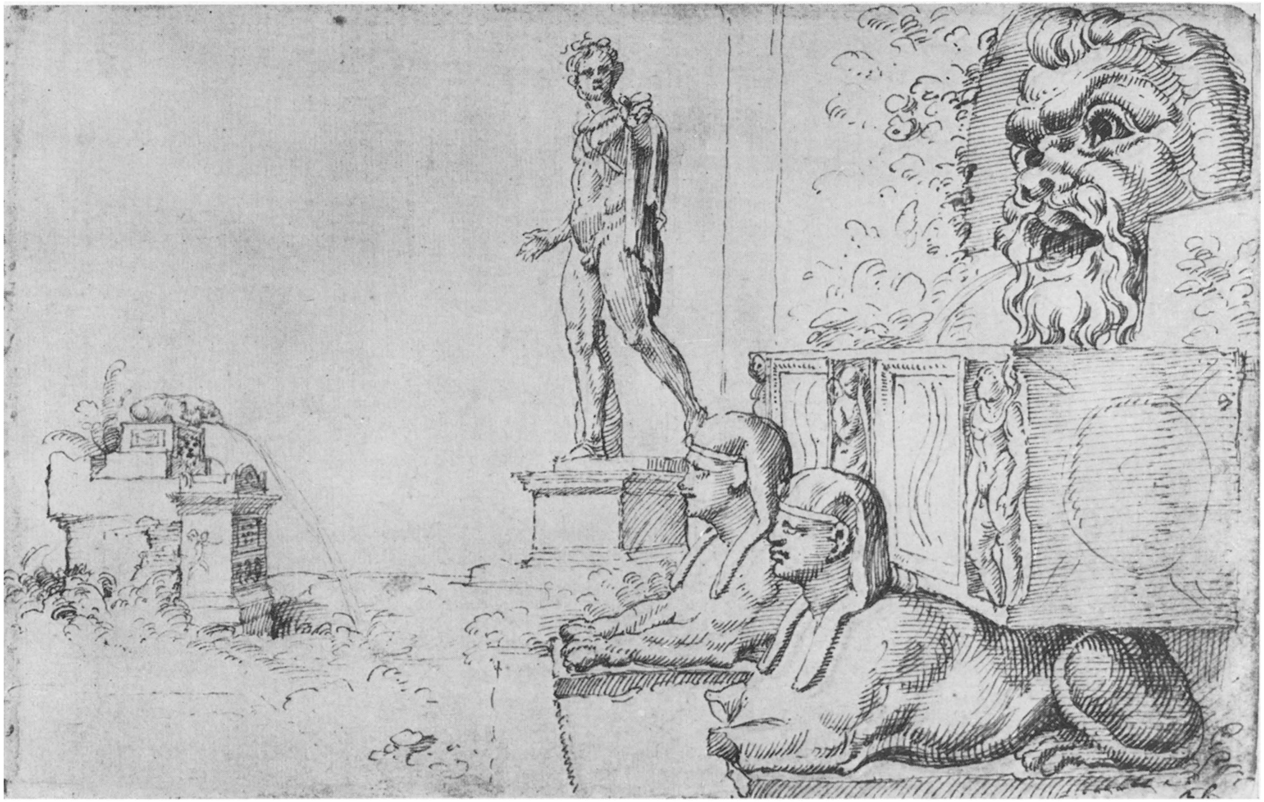


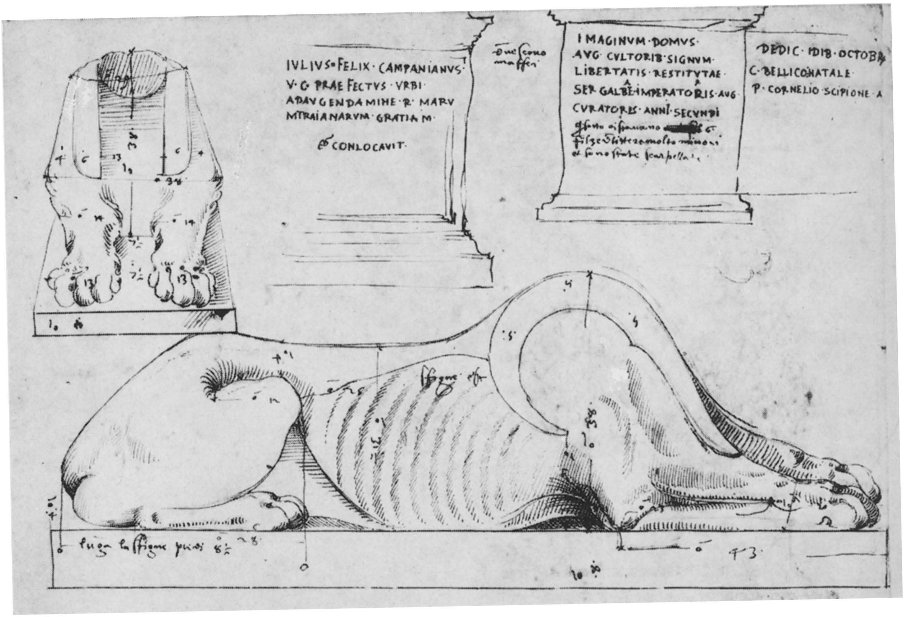
305



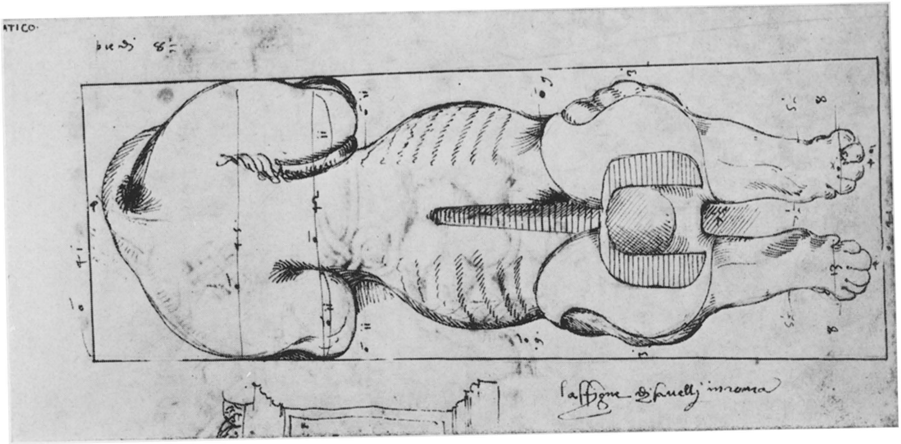
306

PLATE CCVIII



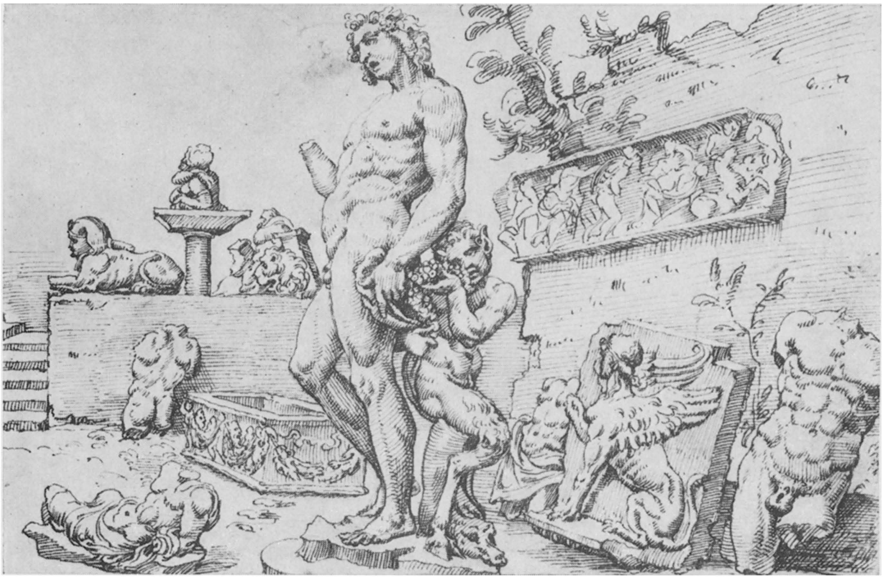

IVLIVS·FELIX·CAMPANIANVS·
V·C·PRAE FECTVS·VRBI·
AD AVGENDA MINE·R·MARV
M TRAIANARVM·GRATIA M·
CONLOCAVIT·
Due sono maffei
IMAGINVM·DOMVS·
AVG·CVLTORIB·SIGNVM·
LIBERTATIS·RESTITVTAE·
SER·GALBE·IMPERATORIS·AVG
CVRATORES·ANNI·SECVNDI
DEDIC·IDIB·OCTOBR
C·BELLICO NATALE·
P·CORNELIO·SCIPIONE·A
piedi 8½

308


ATICO·
piedi 8½
la sfigne

309

PLATE CCX



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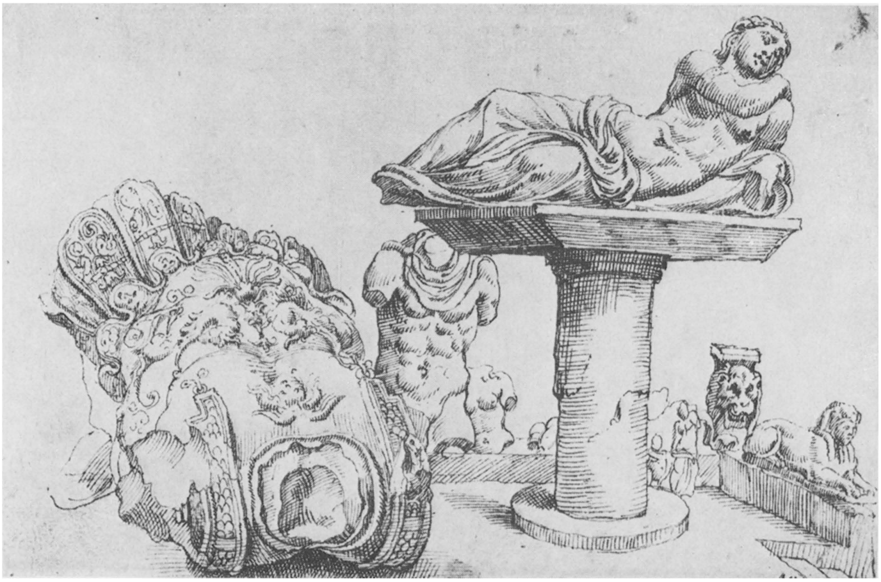

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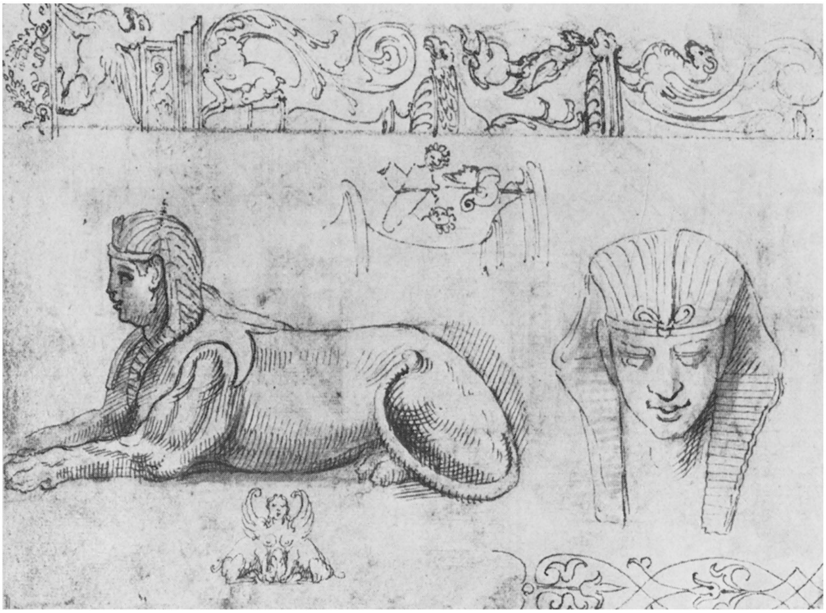
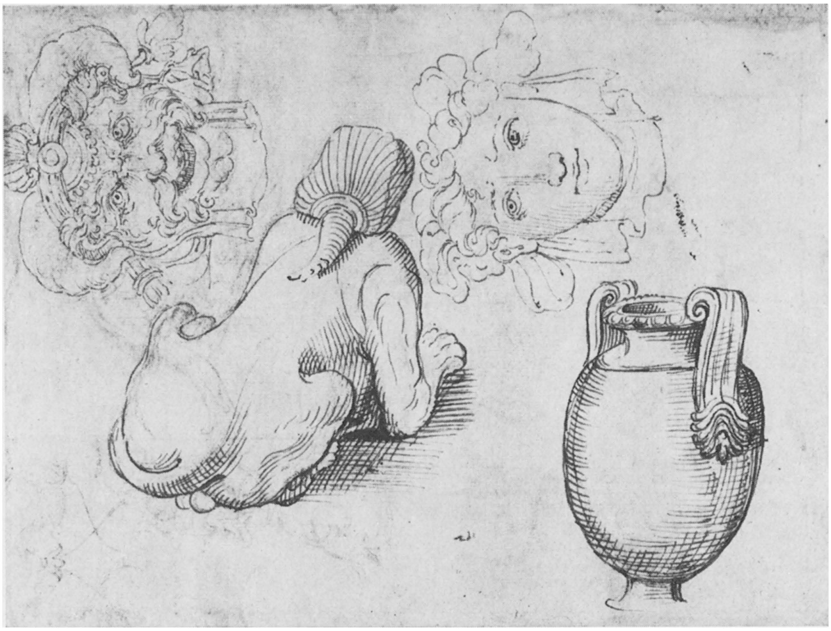
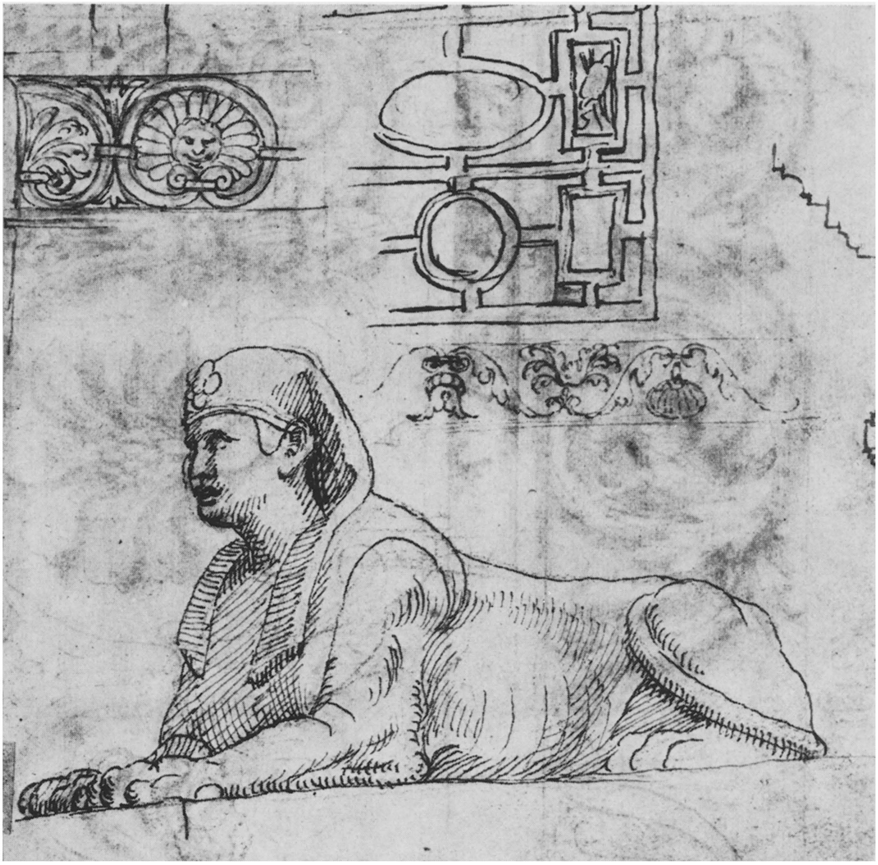


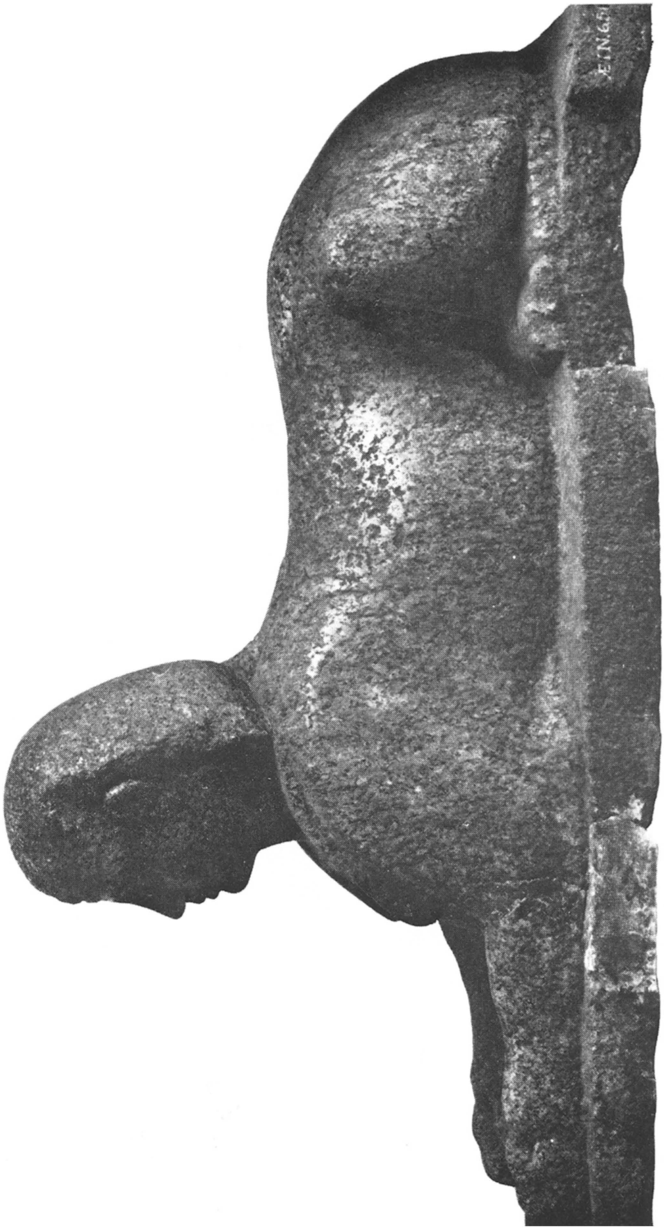
312



313

PLATE CCXII





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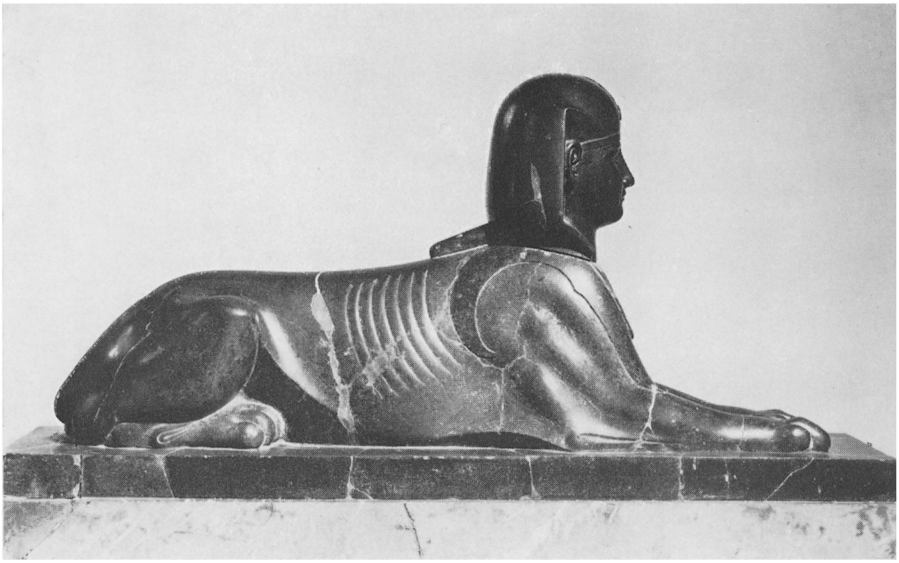

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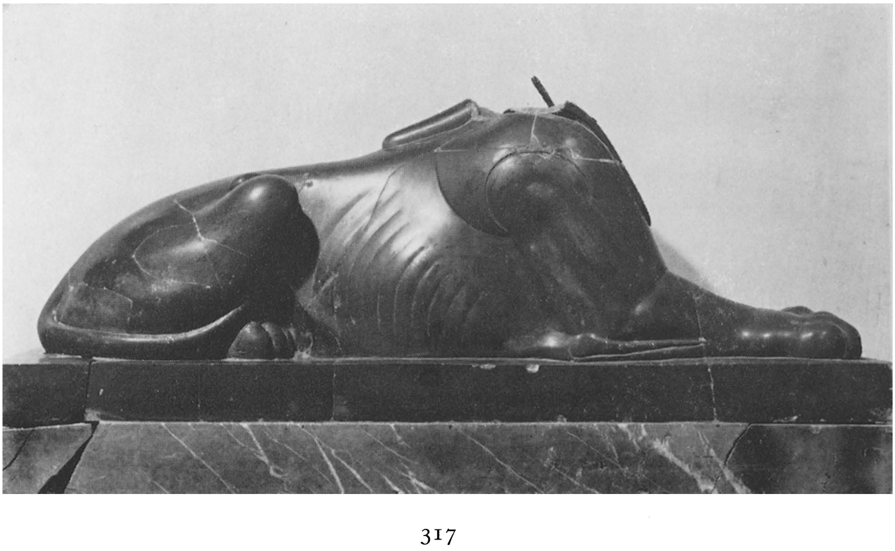


317

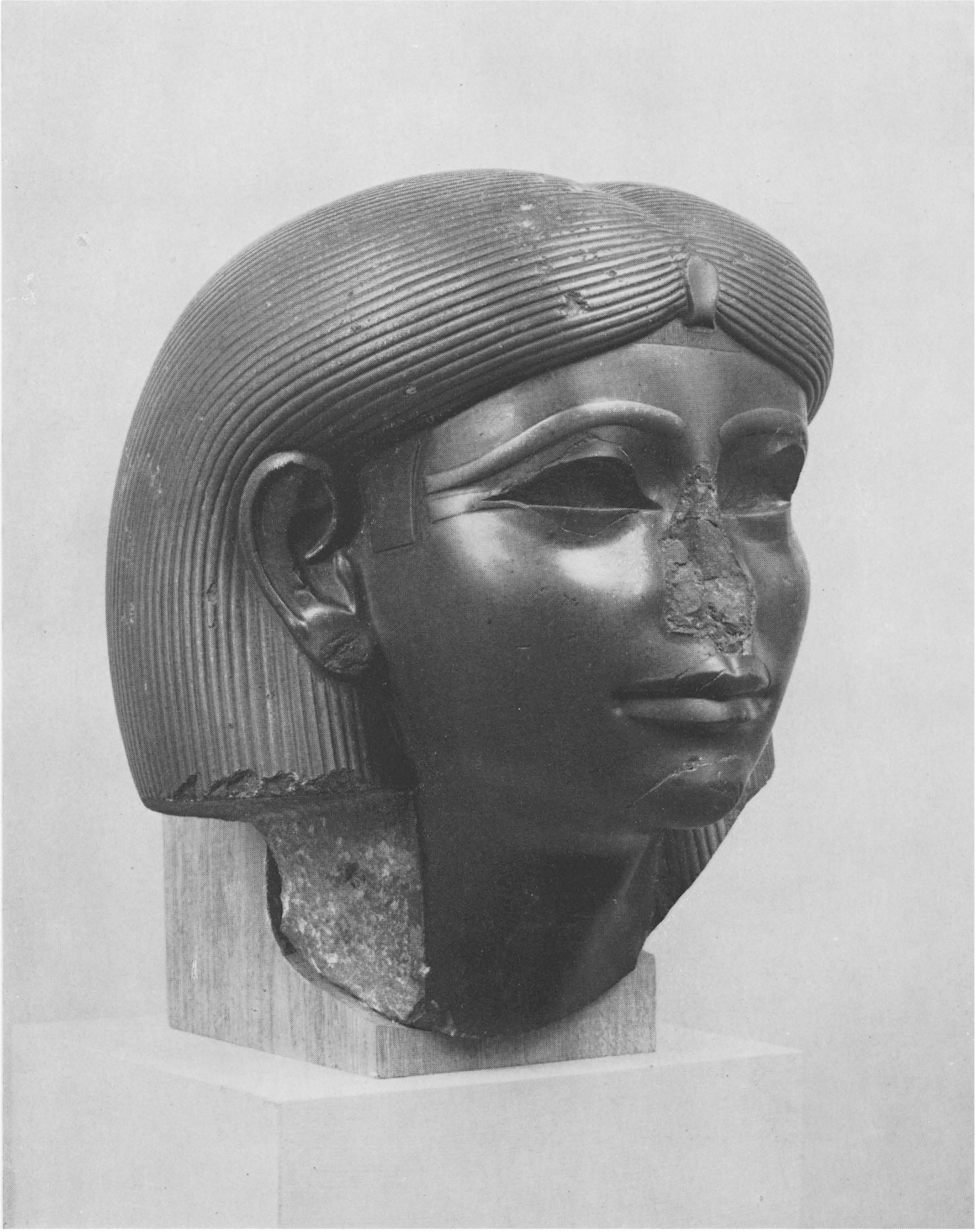
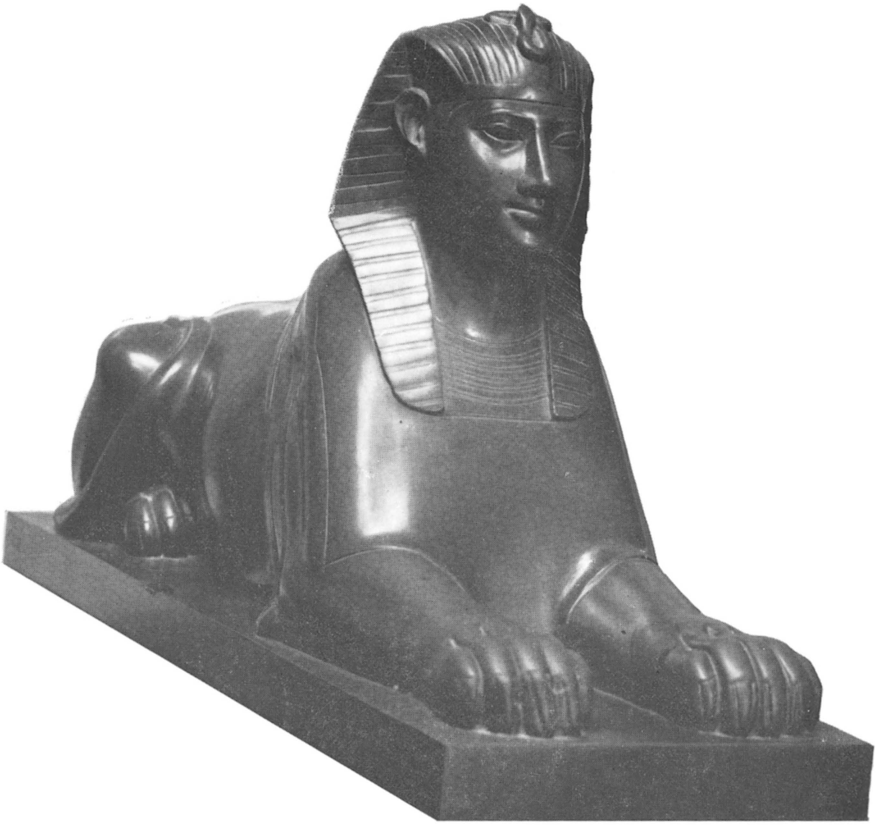
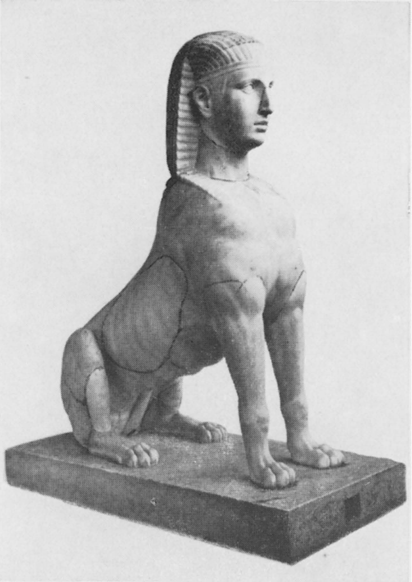


Plate CCXVI





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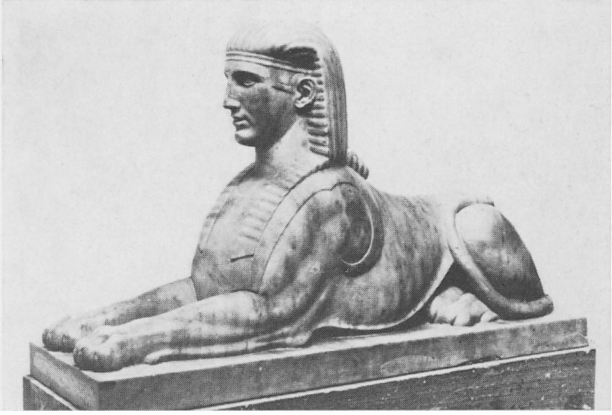

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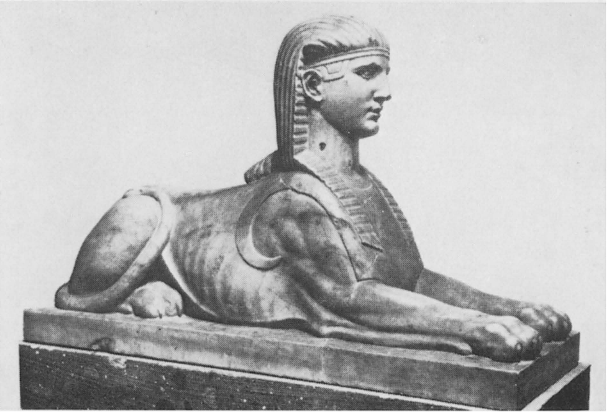
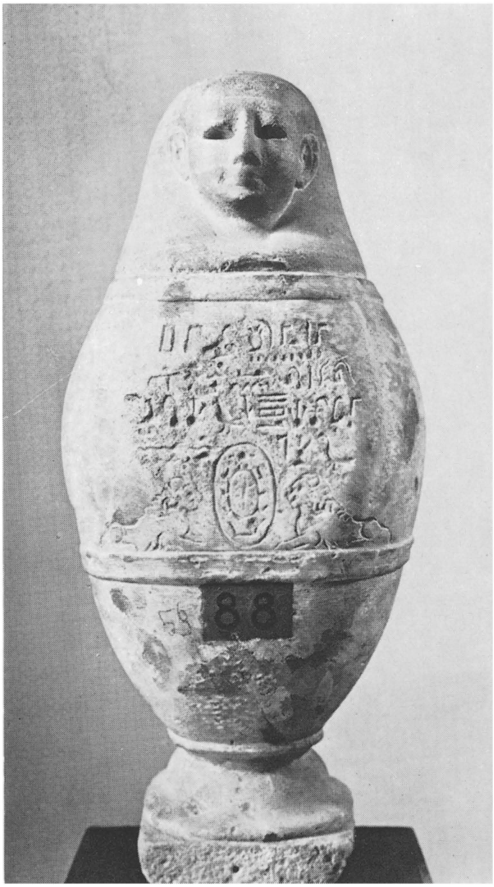
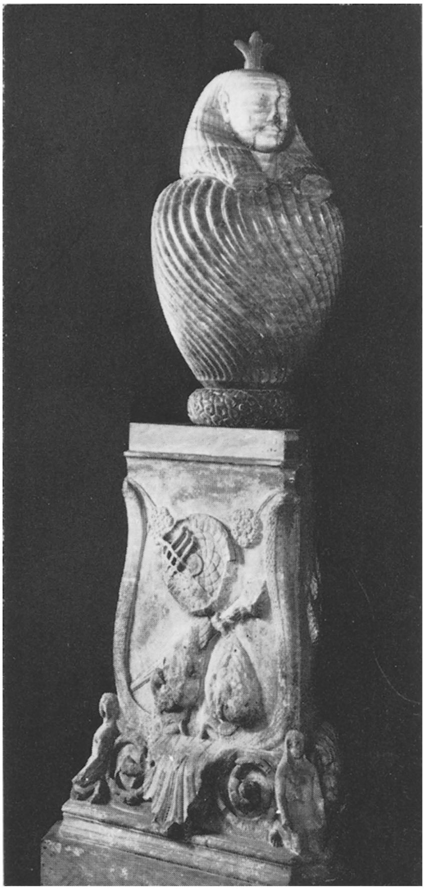


322

PLATE CCXVIII



323



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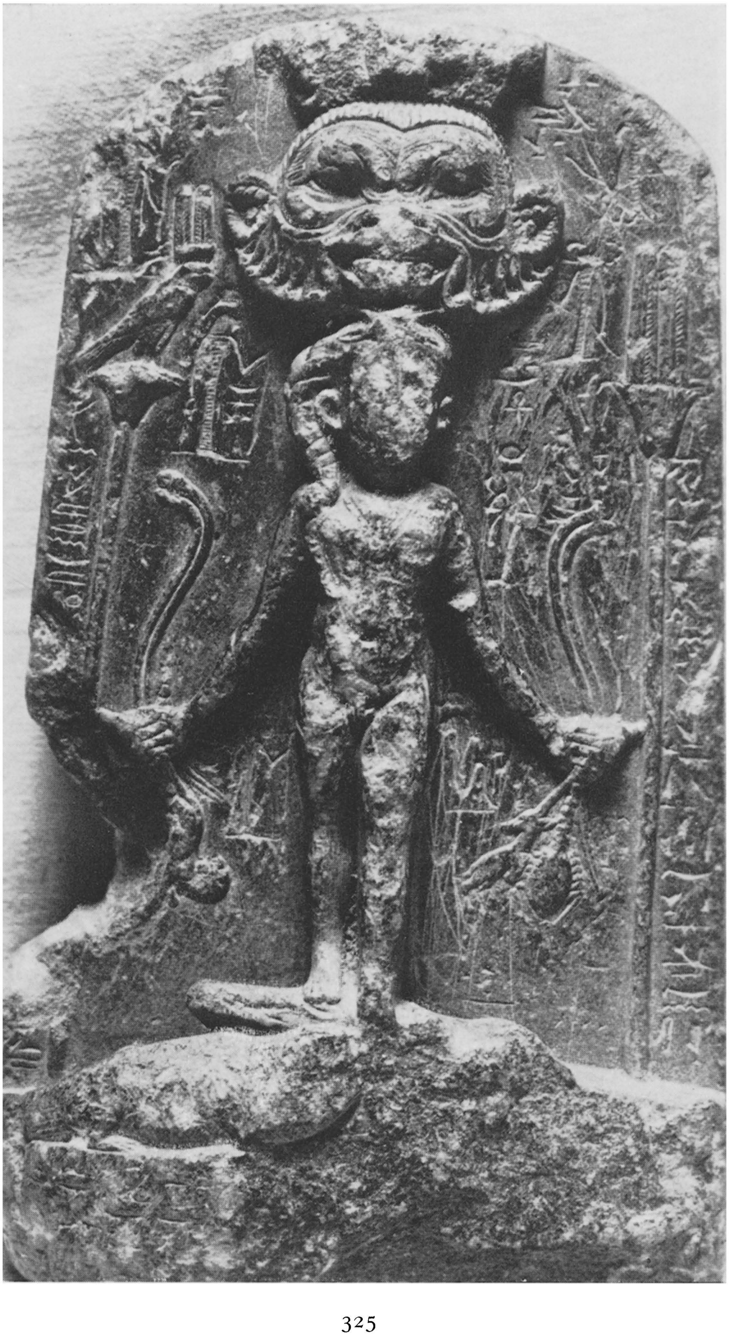

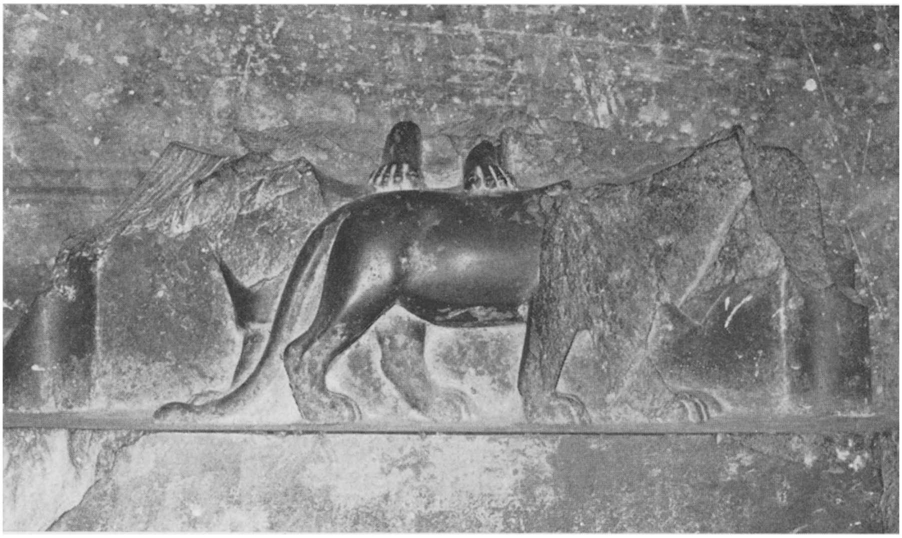

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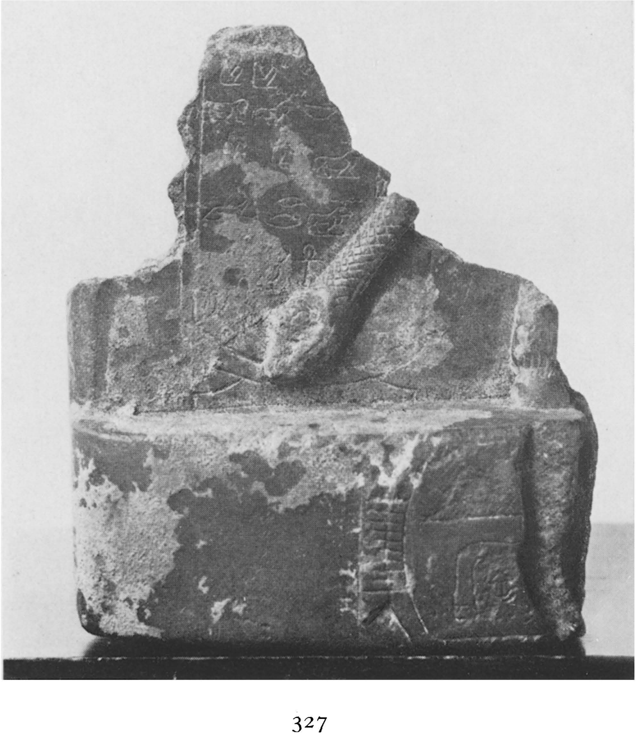

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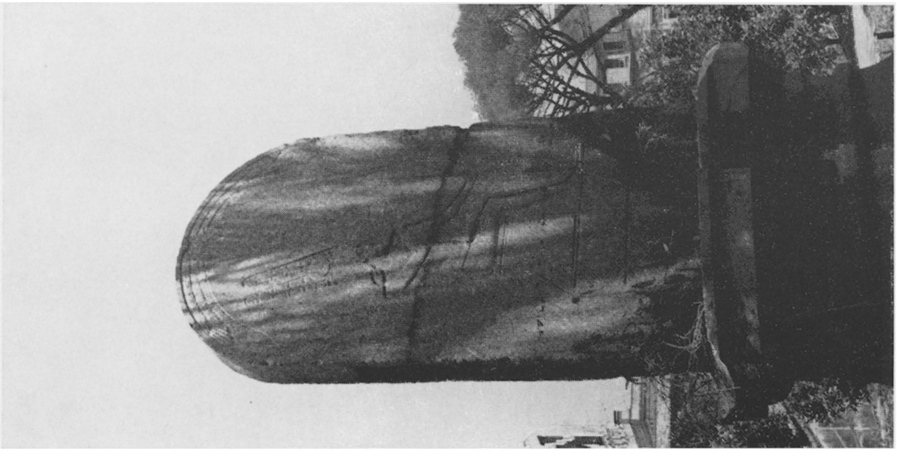

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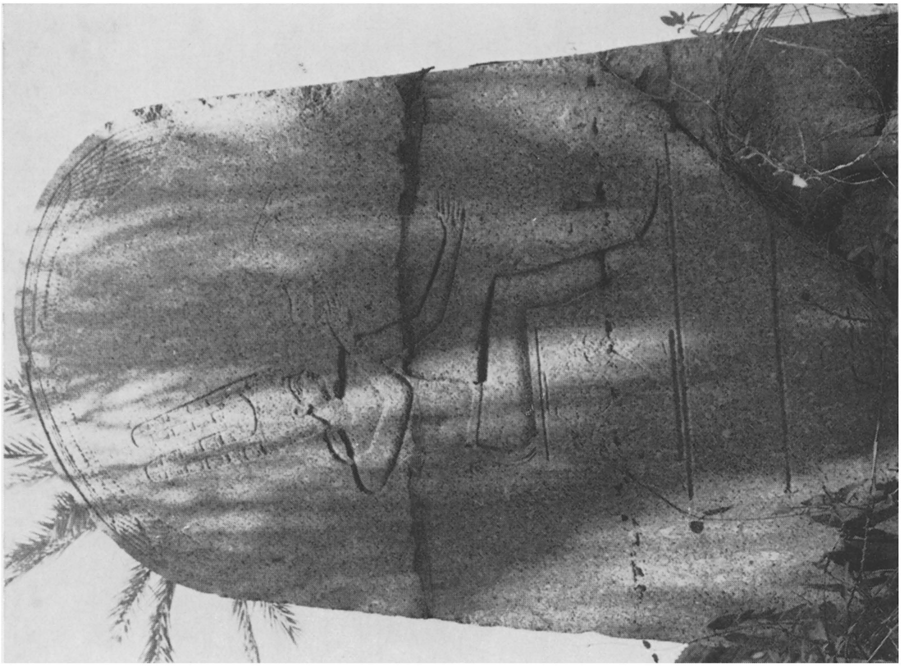
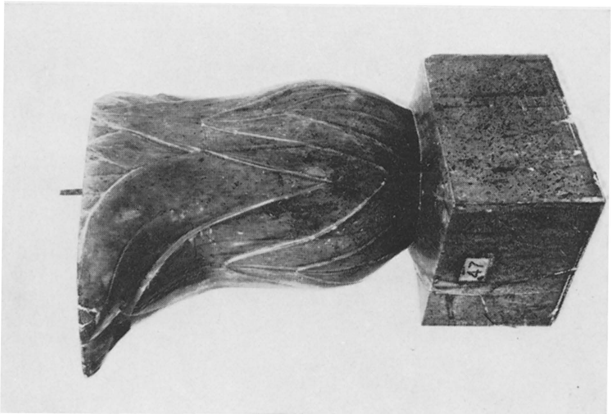


329

PLATE CCXXII



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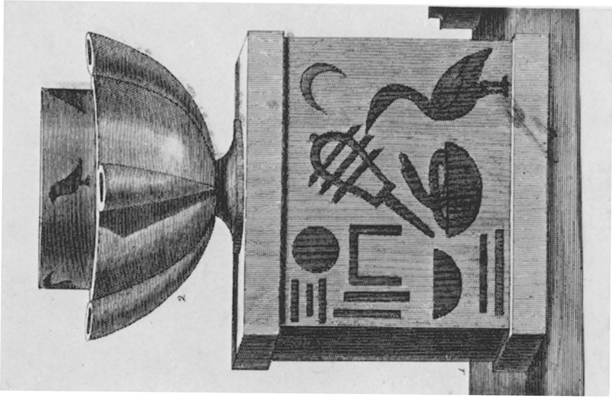

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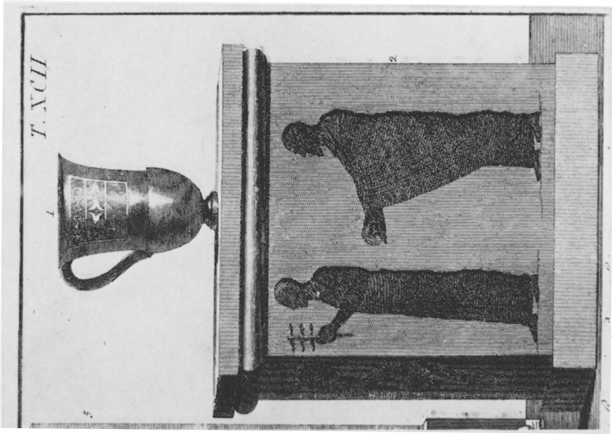
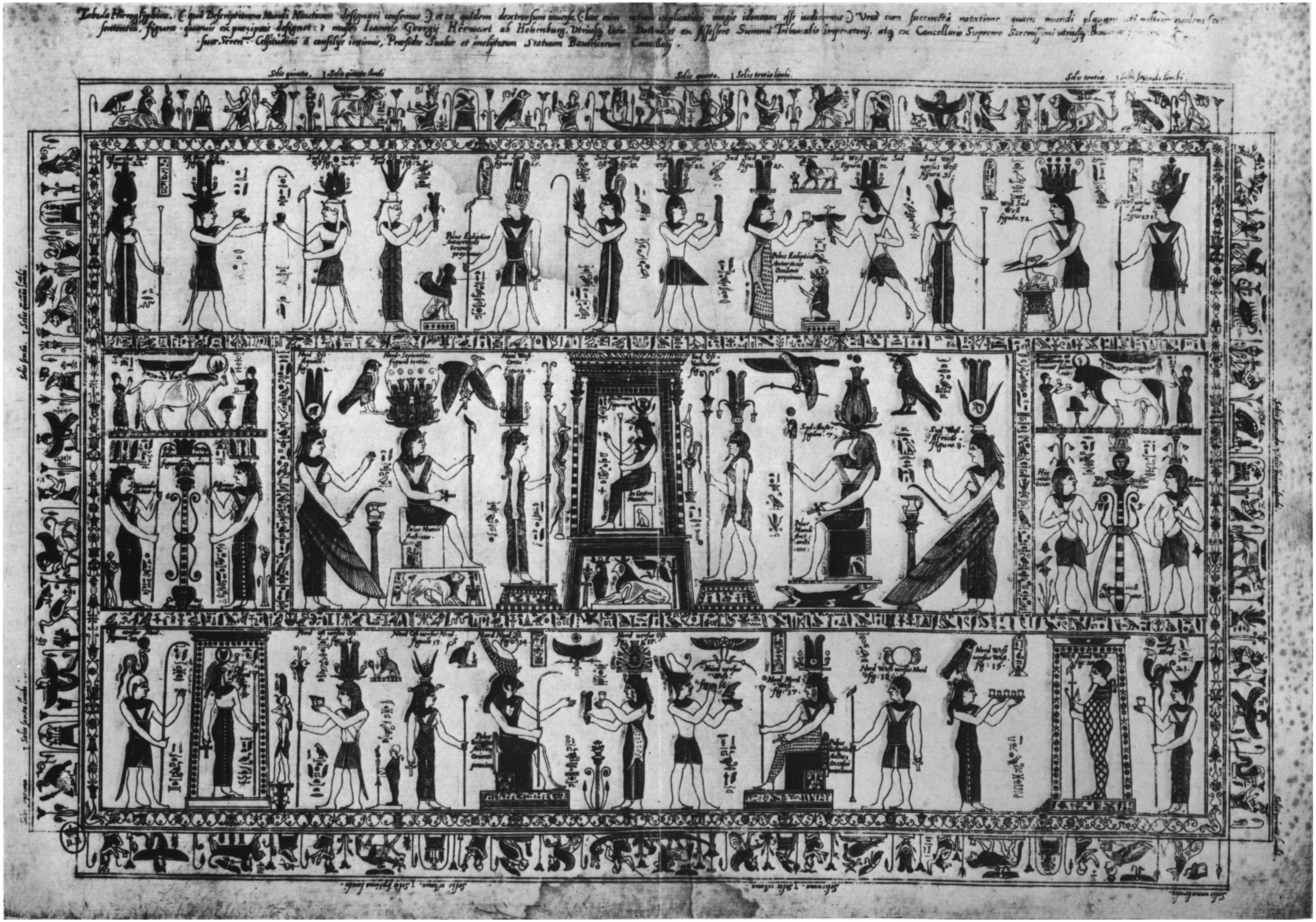
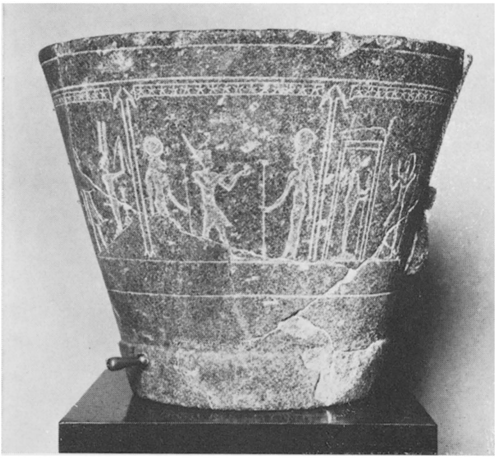


332


Tabula Hieroglyphica. (quâ Descriptionem Mundi Nauticam designari censemus) et ea quidem dextrorsum inversa (hac enim ratione explicationi magis idoneam esse iudicamus) Vnâ cum succinctâ notatione quam mundi plagam uti nobis quidem
sententia, figura quæuis ex præcipuis designet: è museo Ioannis Georgij Herwart ab Hohenburg, Vtriusque Iuris Doctoris, et ex Assessore Summi Tribunalis imperatorij, atque ex Cancellario Supremo Serenissimi utriusque Bau
suæ Sereni. Celsitudini à consilijs intimis, Præsidis Suabiæ et inclytorum Statuum Bauaricorum Cancellarij.
Solis quinta. | Solis quinta limbi.
Solis quarta. | Solis tertia limbi.
Solis tertia. | Solis secunda limbi.



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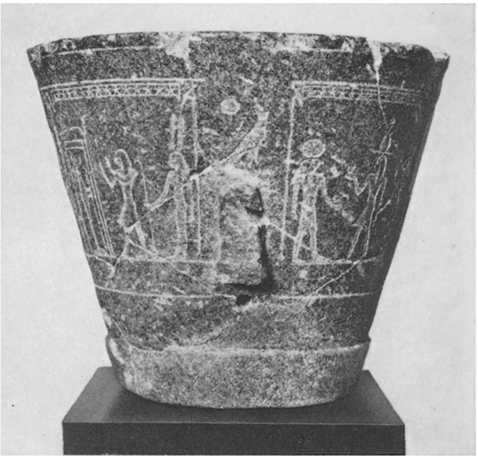

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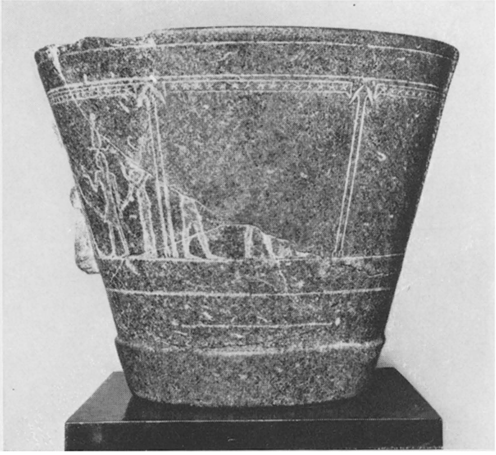
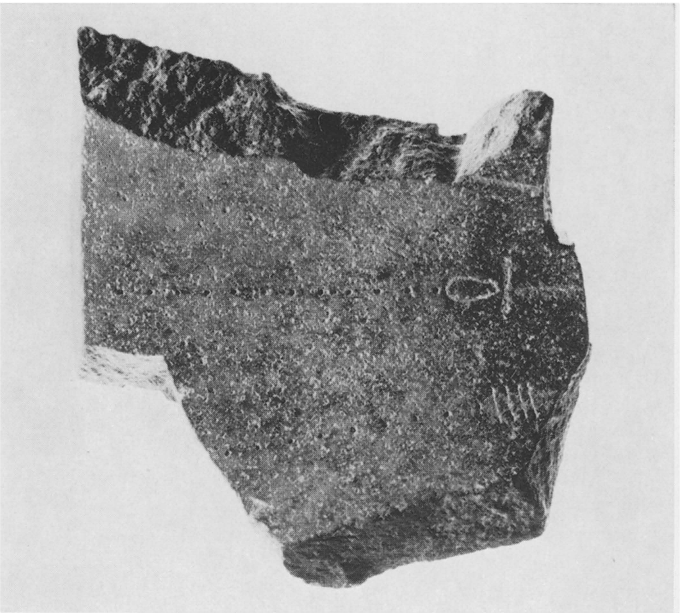


336

Plate CCXXV



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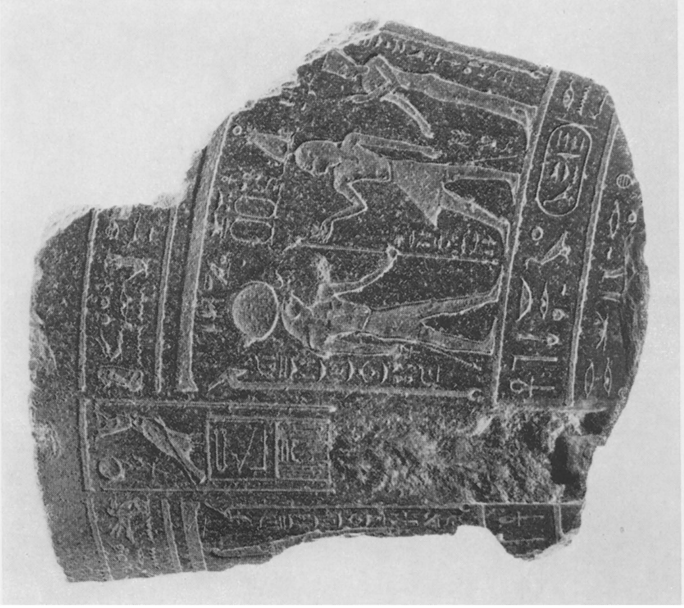

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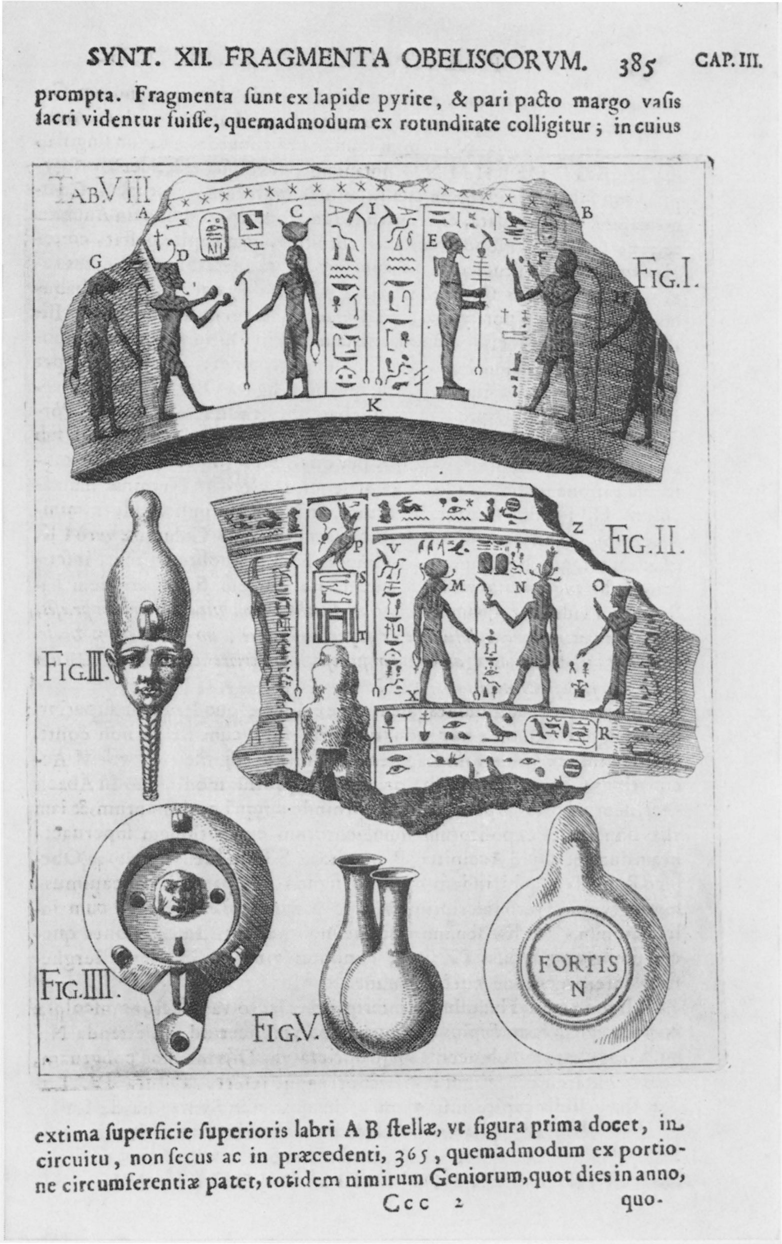


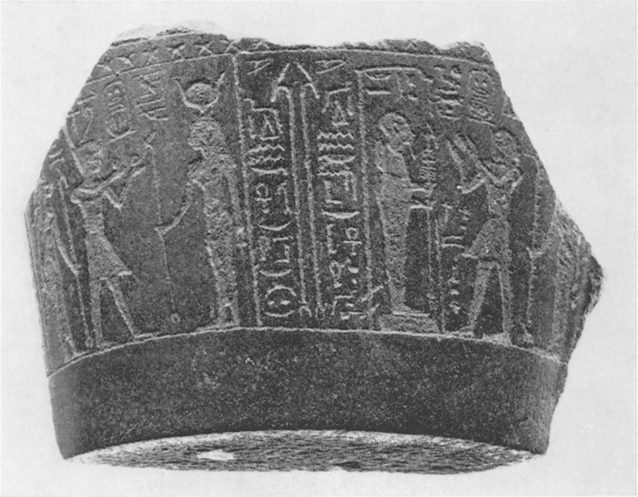
SYNT. XII. FRAGMENTA OBELISCORVM. 385 CAP. III.

prompta. Fragmenta ſunt ex lapide pyrite, & pari pacto margo vaſis ſacri videntur fuiſſe, quemadmodum ex rotunditate colligitur; in cuius

TAB.VIII
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
FIG.I.
Z
FIG.II.
P
S
V
M
N
O
X
R
FIG.III.
FIG.IIII.
FIG.V.
FORTIS
N

extima ſuperficie ſuperioris labri A B ſtellæ, vt figura prima docet, in circuitu, non ſecus ac in præcedenti, 365, quemadmodum ex portione circumferentiæ patet, totidem nimirum Geniorum, quot dies in anno, quo-

Ccc 2



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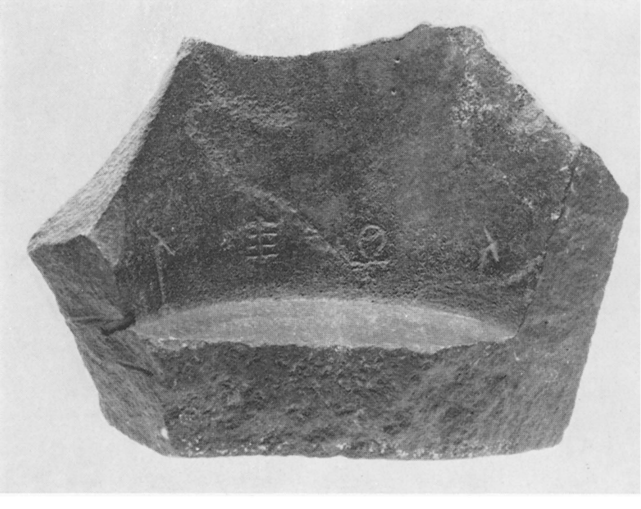

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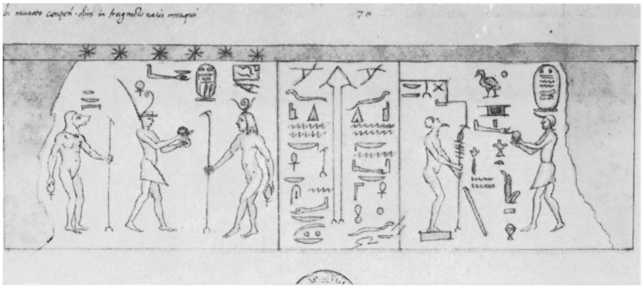

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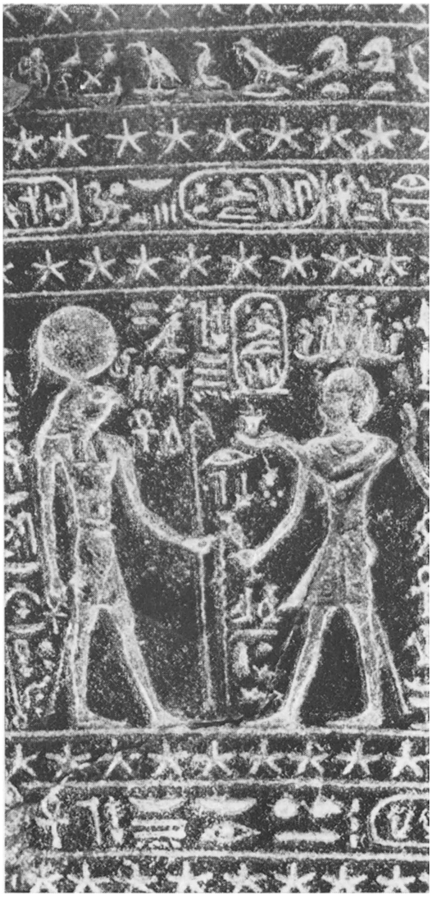
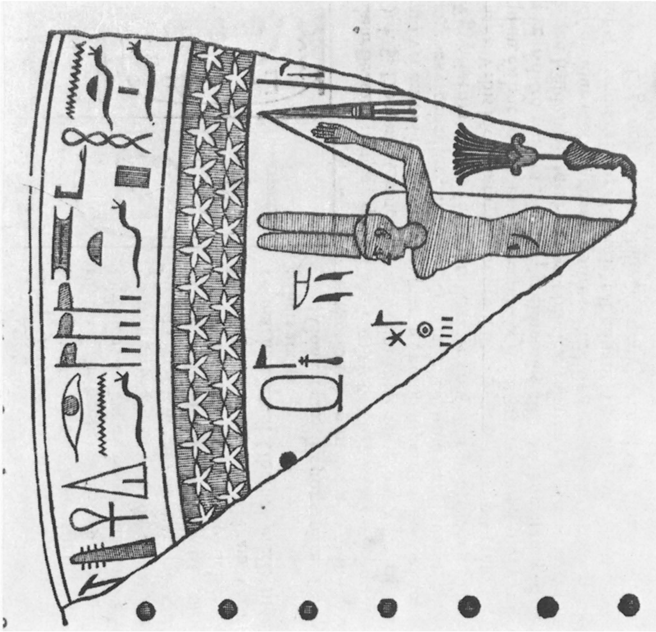


343

PLATE CCXXIX



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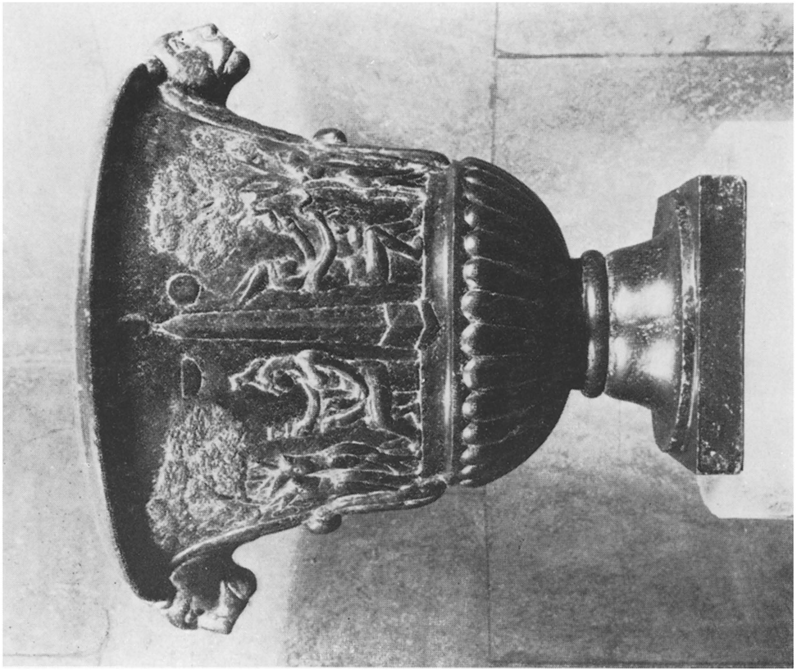

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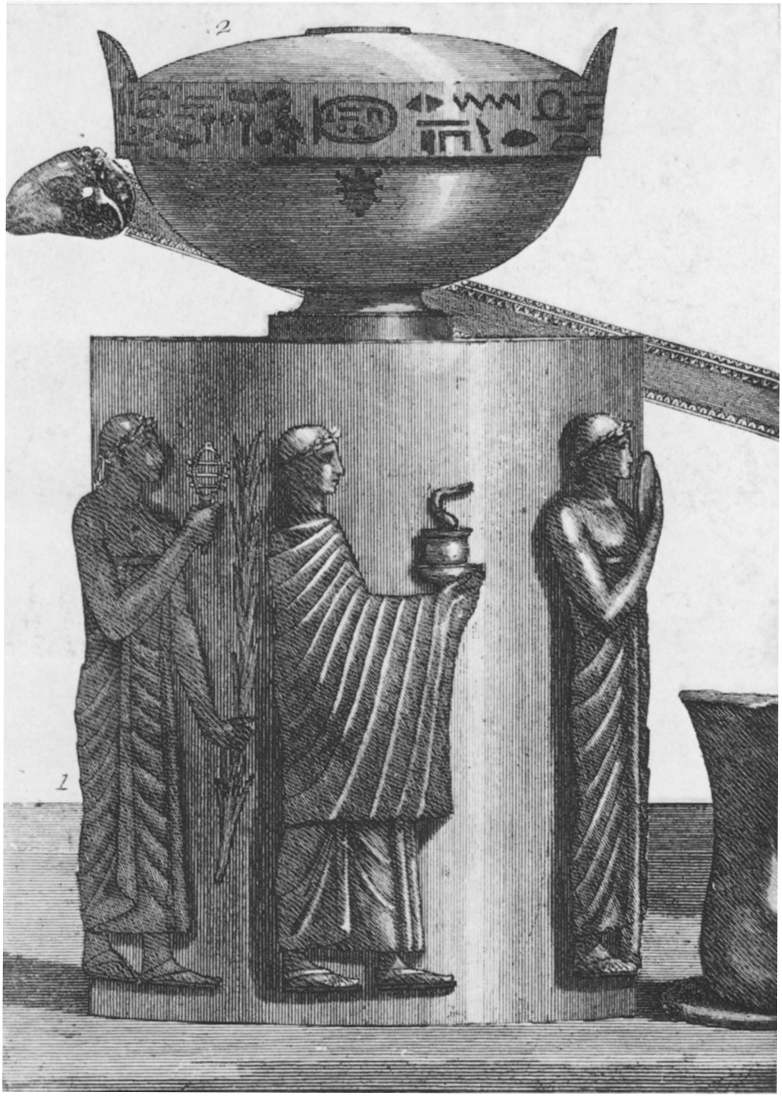
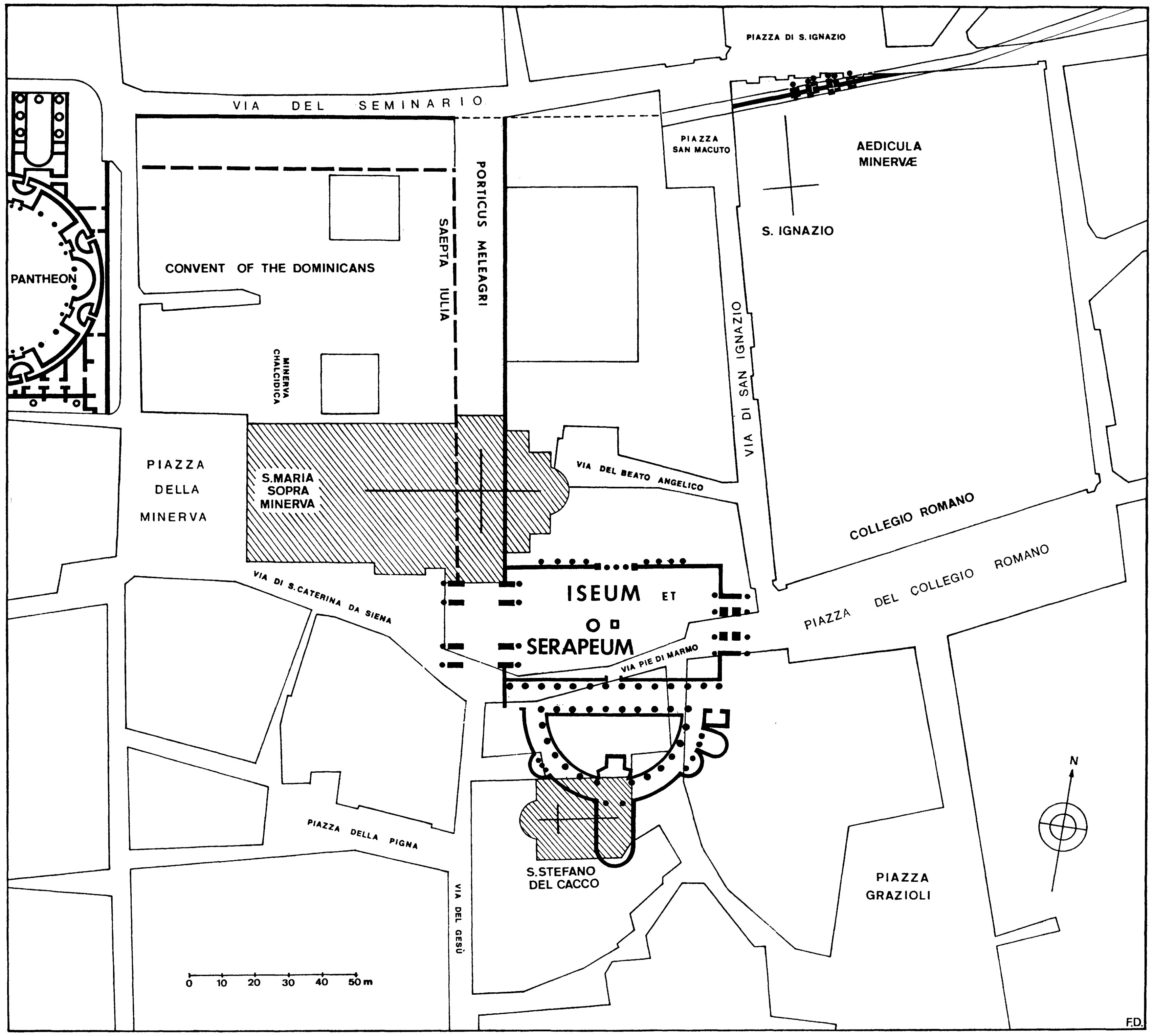
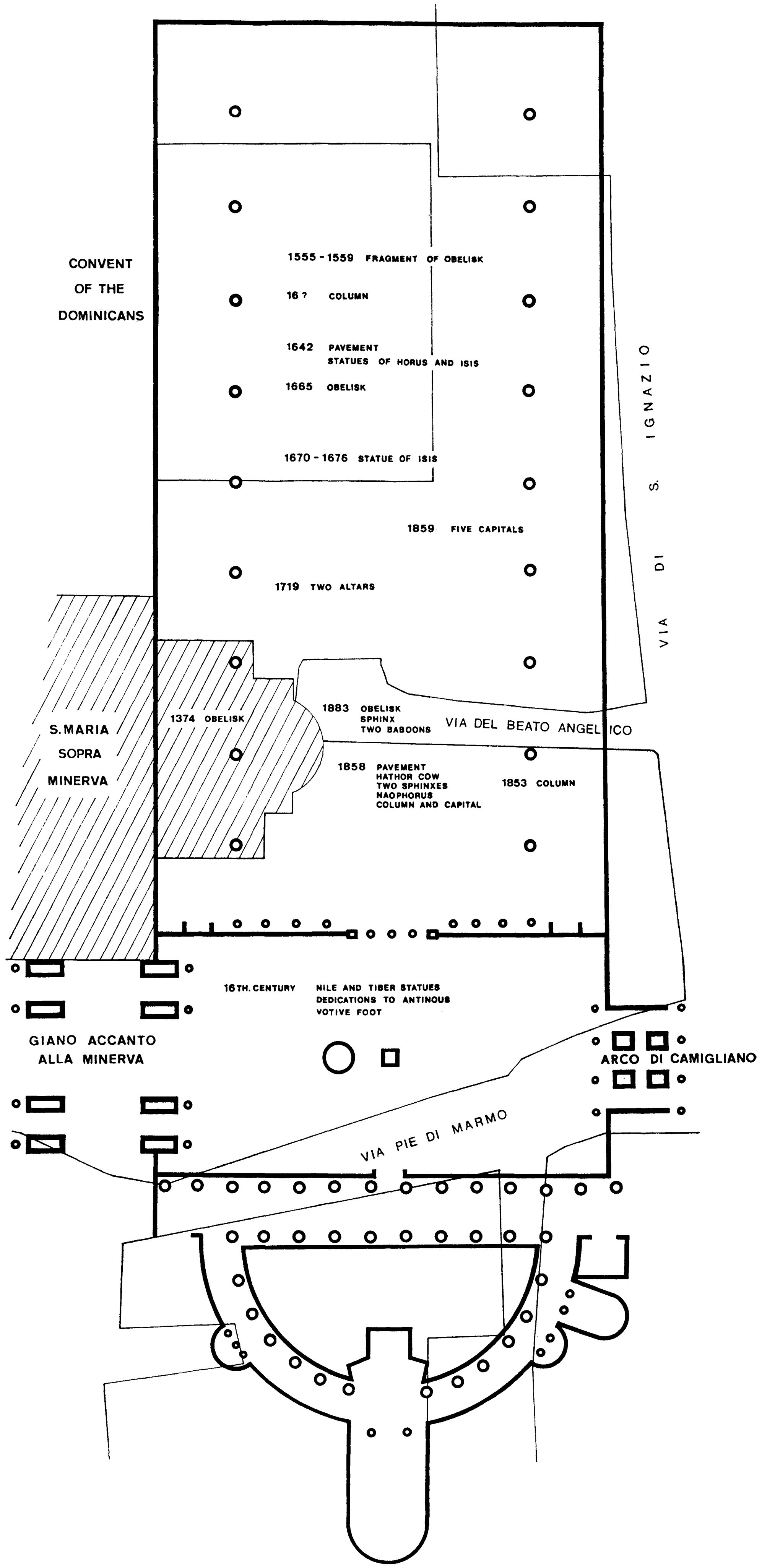
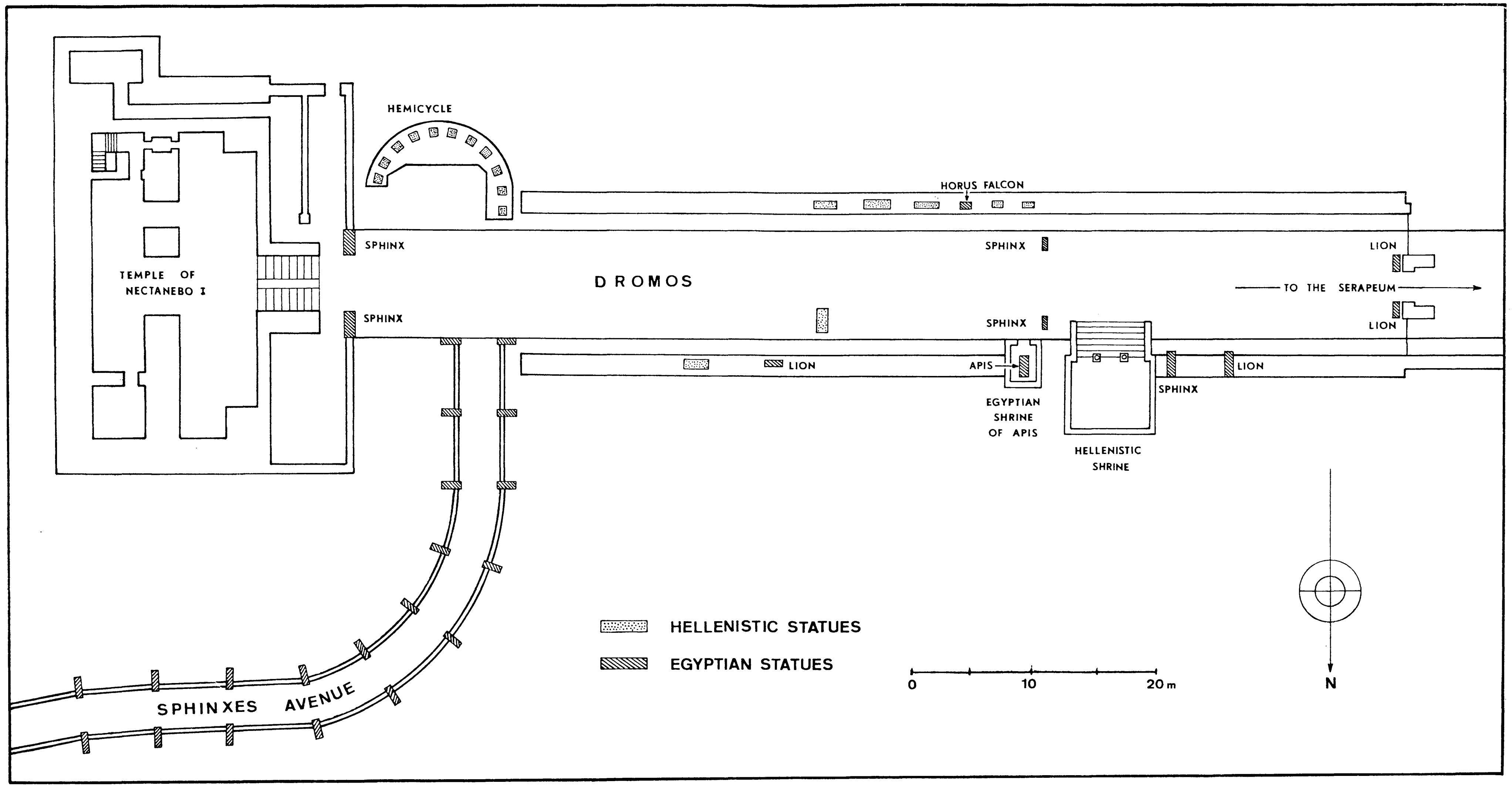

2
1


PIAZZA DI S. IGNAZIO
VIA DEL SEMINARIO
PIAZZA SAN MACUTO
AEDICULA MINERVÆ
S. IGNAZIO
PANTHEON
CONVENT OF THE DOMINICANS
PORTICUS MELEAGRI
SAEPTA IULIA
MINERVA CHALCIDICA
VIA DI SAN IGNAZIO
PIAZZA DELLA MINERVA
S.MARIA SOPRA MINERVA
VIA DEL BEATO ANGELICO
COLLEGIO ROMANO
PIAZZA DEL COLLEGIO ROMANO
VIA DI S.CATERINA DA SIENA
ISEUM ET SERAPEUM
VIA PIE DI MARMO
PIAZZA DELLA PIGNA
VIA DEL GESÙ
S.STEFANO DEL CACCO
PIAZZA GRAZIOLI
N
0 10 20 30 40 50 m
F.D.

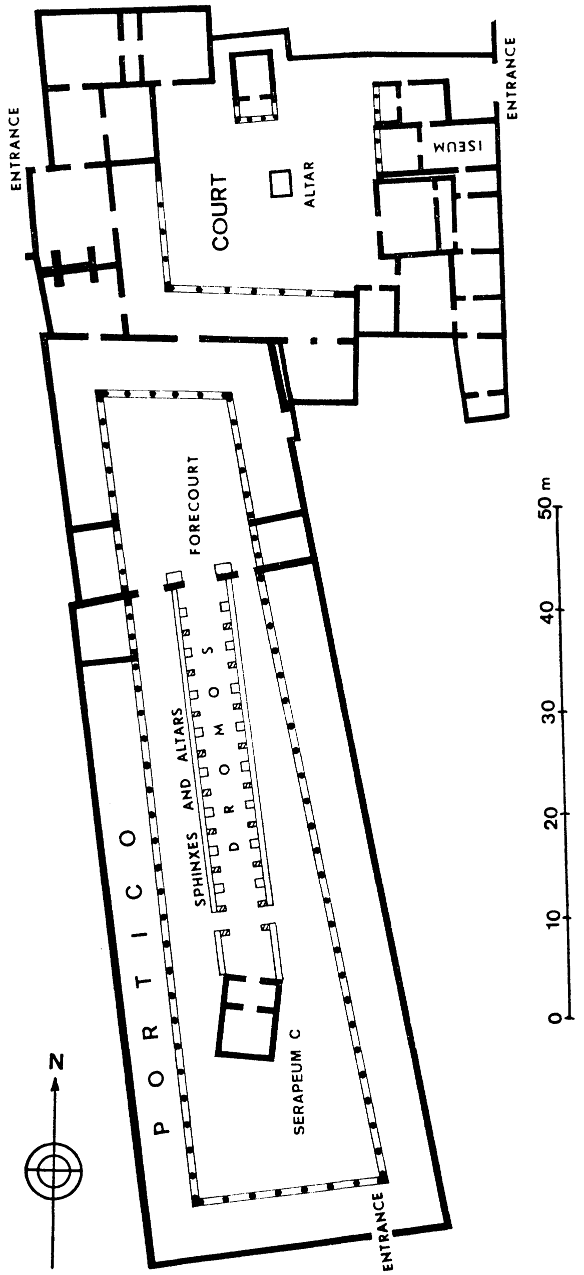
347


CONVENT OF THE DOMINICANS
1555 - 1559 FRAGMENT OF OBELISK
16 ? COLUMN
1642 PAVEMENT STATUES OF HORUS AND ISIS
1665 OBELISK
1670 - 1676 STATUE OF ISIS
1859 FIVE CAPITALS
1719 TWO ALTARS
VIA DI S. IGNAZIO
S.MARIA SOPRA MINERVA
1374 OBELISK
1883 OBELISK SPHINX TWO BABOONS
VIA DEL BEATO ANGELICO
1858 PAVEMENT HATHOR COW TWO SPHINXES NAOPHORUS COLUMN AND CAPITAL
1853 COLUMN
16TH. CENTURY NILE AND TIBER STATUES DEDICATIONS TO ANTINOUS VOTIVE FOOT
GIANO ACCANTO ALLA MINERVA
ARCO DI CAMIGLIANO
VIA PIE DI MARMO

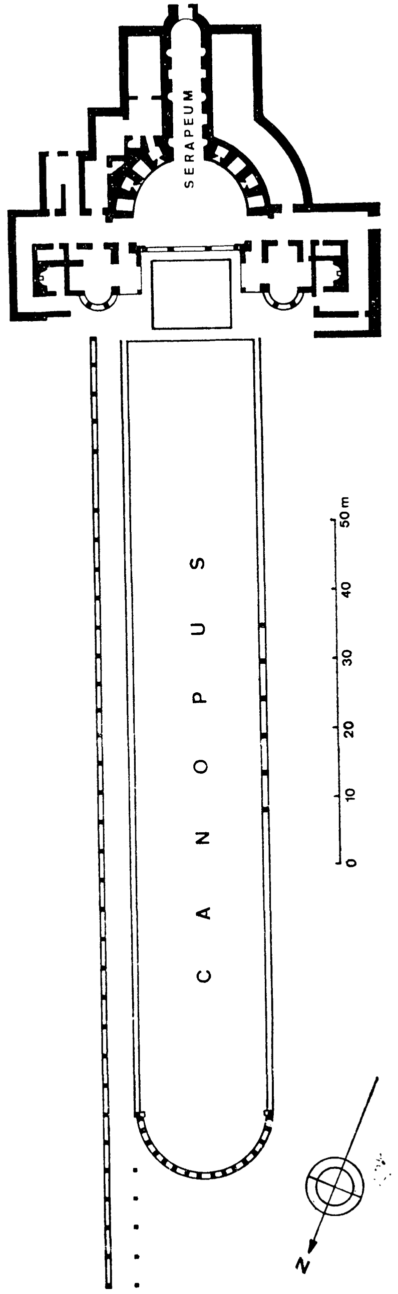
348


HEMICYCLE
HORUS FALCON
TEMPLE OF NECTANEBO I
SPHINX
SPHINX
DROMOS
SPHINX
SPHINX
LION
LION
TO THE SERAPEUM
LION
APIS
EGYPTIAN SHRINE OF APIS
HELLENISTIC SHRINE
SPHINX
LION
SPHINXES AVENUE
HELLENISTIC STATUES
EGYPTIAN STATUES
0
10
20 m
N

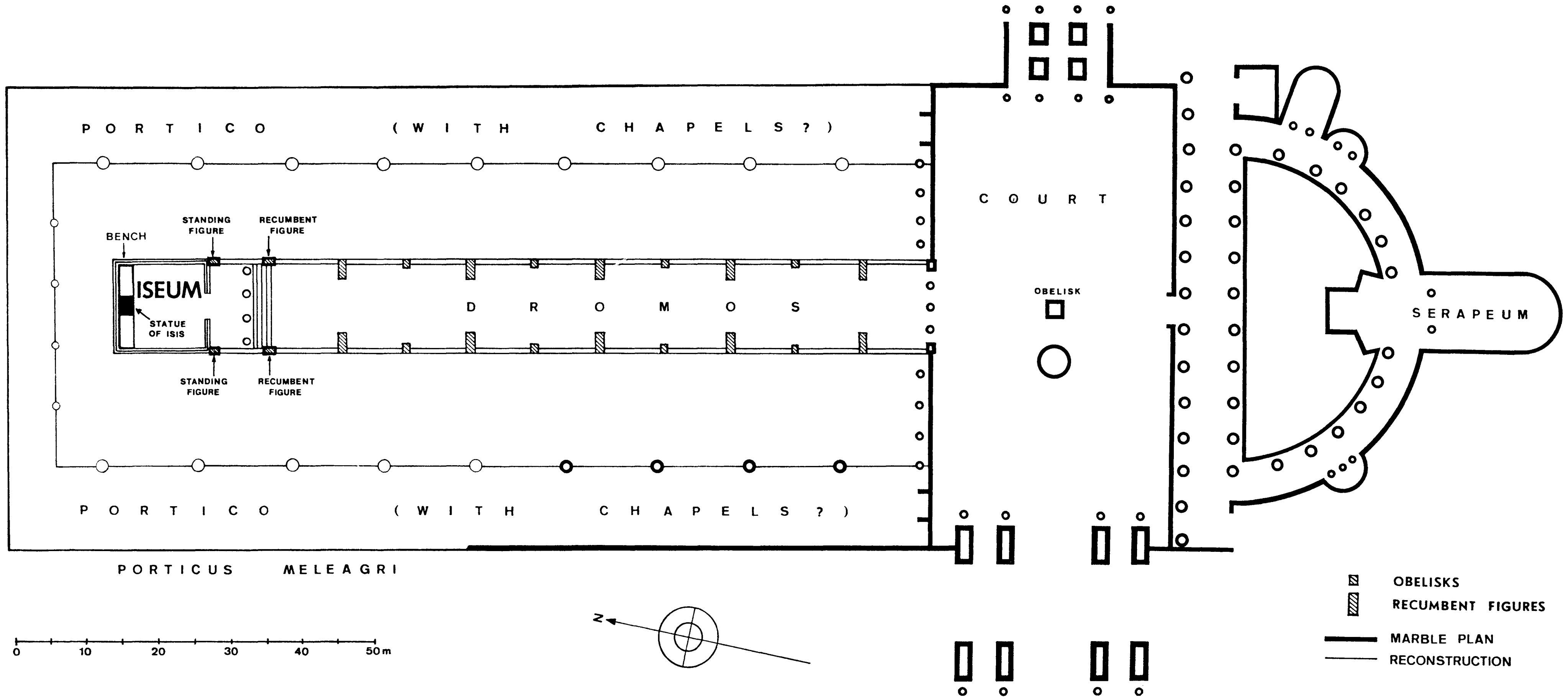
349


ENTRANCE
ENTRANCE
COURT
ALTAR
ISEUM
FORECOURT
SPHINXES AND ALTARS
DROMOS
PORTICO
SERAPEUM C
ENTRANCE
N
0
10
20
30
40
50 m

350


SERAPEUM
CANOPUS
0
10
20
30
40
50 m
N

351


PORTICO (WITH CHAPELS?)
COURT
BENCH
STANDING FIGURE
RECUMBENT FIGURE
ISEUM
STATUE OF ISIS
DROMOS
OBELISK
SERAPEUM
STANDING FIGURE
RECUMBENT FIGURE
PORTICO (WITH CHAPELS?)
PORTICUS MELEAGRI
0
10
20
30
40
50m
N
OBELISKS
RECUMBENT FIGURES
MARBLE PLAN
RECONSTRUCTION